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ABSTRACT

Until the 1960s schooling in Korea was looked upon quite favorably as a means of achieving equal social and economic opportunities. In the 1970s, however, many began to raise the question of whether the expansion of educational opportunities really did reduce social inequalities. This report discusses research that analyzes available evidence about the link between educational attainment and social stratification. The research is conducted around two competing paradigms: the functional paradigm which looks upon education favorably as a way to achieve a meritocratic society; and the conflict paradigm which sees schooling not as a great equalizer, but as a reproducer of the social division of labor. The relationships of family background, schooling, and personal traits to social achievement are analyzed. Analysis is made according to age groups. The report generally finds education to be highly correlated to social achievement. Numerous tables are included, as is a lengthy list of references. (DB)

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SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

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Kim Byong-sung, Ph. D

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SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

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PREFACE

This publication is an English version of an earlier research report produced by KEDI. It is a result of KEDI's new effort to distribute its earlier research findings to share the experience obtained in Korean education with the educators, educational researchers and administrators in the international community. We hope that this tranlated version of our earlier work will be used as a reference to those in the profession.

The government adopted the guantitative increase in the high class manpower as a main policy task according to the ideology and objective of the national development in the period of 1960's. Accordingly, the function of school education as an agency fostering the required manpower was greatly enlightened and the educational opportunities were rapidly expanded. So, the nations came to have a meritocratic idea to regard education as a path for upward mobility of social status and have shown over-zeal toward education. Especially the optimistic viewpoint on schooling effects could be naturally dominant because our country was in the unstable and continuously developing process, seen in the aspects of social structure different from the developed countries.

Recently, the doubts are being suggested if the expansion of educational opportunity contributes to the national development and the equalization of the society. That is, it is asserted that education causes the inequality in the social achievement as well as in the results of education, as education is influenced by the family background, the student selection process and manifestly or latently in the educational process such as curriculum and interaction within school class, etc.

And then, how much is our school education contributing to the social development and equalization? This research analyzes the factors related to social achievement of the person, in order to get the answers toward the above questions. In other words, this research comparatively analyzed the influential power of family background, schooling, and personal traits to social achievement, and the relations among those three variables according to age groups.

This research findings are reinvestigating the fundamental directions and approaches toward the plans of educational and social development which were established on the basis of the optimistic viewpoint, and supplying the fundamental materials in establishing the policy alternatives in those areas.

I appreciate the co-researchers and many teachers who helped in many aspects in accomplishing this research.

Kim Young-shik, Ph. D.
President
Korean Educational Development Institute

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I. BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Schooling has become highly important in social and occupational attainment in modern Korea, and thus occupies a central place for the prediction of stratification and of social mobility.

Until '60s the optimistic views on schooling prevailed almost unchallanged and the liberalist has argued the expansion of educational opportunity through the movement of school reformation. But from the late of '70s the pessimistic view on education raised the question whether the expansion of school education reduced the social inequality.

Accordingly the precise test of the educational effect on social attainment and mobility in Korea is very interesting and important question to define the policy measures for the realization of the social equality and justices.

This study attempts to assess the adequacy of two theories in accounting for available evidence on the link between educational attainment and social stratification.

The effects of schooling seems to be twofold: functional paradigm concerning one's ability and efforts, and a radical or conflict paradigm derived from the approach of Max Weber, Stating the determinants of various outcomes in the struggles among status groups.

Functional paradigm suggests that development function of schooling contributes to social mobility by developing acceptable technical skills to the social needs. Conflicting theory is trying to reveal that selection process of schooling somehow is working for predicting the privileges of upper social class in the established social structure. Between two possibilities, the nature of educational opportunities depends upon which function of schooling is dominant.

Some studies of education and social mobilities suggested that expansion of educational opportunities itself as a policy goal is not enough toward achieving meritocratic society. Expansion of schooling might result in diploma-inflation without helping the lower class move in upword social mobility. Boudon's simulation study (1973) is one of the theoretical analysis of this point. Thurow's empirical analysis of earning distribution in the United States showed that expansion of schooling has not contributed to reduce the gap in earning distribution.

It seems that the discussions above are well summerized in the two theoretical paradigm of schooling and social attainment. Thus these functional and conflicting paradigms offer two different view points of functions of schooling and meaning of social attainments in a given society.

In functional paradigm, it is assumed that ideal society has certain characteristics; meritocratic, democratic, and the expert society. Social roles and position are assigned to individuals based on ability and efforts, not on ascriptive traits. Schooling focusess on developmental function to develop necessary technical skills for the expert society. Selection process is not for discrimination but for rationality and efficiency to meet individual's self-realization and social needs. Therefore, developmental function of schooling has to be combined with social function. Talent-sorting and early selection is legitimized and emphasized. Expansion of schooling is one of important means to achieve meritocratic society. And human capital theory provides a theoretical frame to verify empirically the effects of schooling expansion.

Also the conflict paradigm seems to agree to the views from functional theory in that there is a close functional relation between schooling and social structure. However, this view interprets schooling in terms of its way of functioning for the interest of power elite in society. Therefore schooling is not a great equalizer as dreamed

by functionalist, but a reproducer of the social division of labor. The radicalist condemns school as a social institution which reinforces and even accentuates existing inequalities. Thus the years of schooling is not directly related to one's social and occupational attainments.

It will be argued that the evidence best supports the conflict paradigm theory, although technical requirements have important effects in particular contexts. It will be further argued that the construction of a general theory of the determination of stratification in its varying forms is best advanced by incorporating elements of the functional analysis of technical requirements of specific jobs at appropriate points with in the conflict model.

Thus this study attempts to assess the empirical evidence on how educational attainment can be interrelated with the social achievement and intergenerational stratification, and to clarify relevant variables affecting the social and occupational attainments. The basic assumption of the study is that the functional paradigm theory suggests the adequate model of interpreting the relationship between schooling and social attainment in Korean social context. The empirical examination of this assumption constitutes the major focus of this study.

II. OPTIMISTIC AND PESSIMISTIC VIEWS ABOUT SCHOOLING

1. Optimism and Pessimism of Schooling on Social Achievement

Is schooling a path for social status attainment and upward mobility? That the social status is attained by achievement factors can become the important indicator for evaluating the open society and the following questions can additionally be suggested with relation to such an idea. What is the role of schooling in making someone accomplishing the social achievement and attaining the occupational status? Why are the schooling credentials required in the distributing process of the economic status or high status occupation in the society?

However, it is not so easy to evaluate the effects of schooling related to the social status, for both the limits of the positivistic research findings in this area and the contracting arguments at various viewpoints. Two different viewpoints about the evaluation of schooling effects to social status attainment are the optimistic viewpoint about schooling identified with Structure-Functional theories which are putting their paradigm on the equilibrium, and the pessimistic idea of the conflict theorists adopting their paradigm as the conflict.

In the period of 70's through 60's which is called the 'development era', the educational reform for the expansion of the educational opportunity was led just by the optimistic viewpoint based on functionalism.

According to the optimistic viewpoint, schoolings are regarded as playing a role to make an attempt at the equilibrium of the whole society by equalizing all the human conditions. It is so that the equal distribution of educational opportunity can protect the economic polarization and remove the poverty (Horace Mann, Hurn, 1978: 87). In other words, this viewpoint points out that education improves the national productivity, causes the change in the income distribution

process between the poor and the rich, and moreover, facilitates the class mobility (L.C. Thurow, 1972). These thoughts put their ground on the meritocracy and contest ideology. That is, the modern society is an expert one as well as meritocratic, so the personal success in life is regarded as decided by free contest which is based on ability (Han Jun-sang, 1981). The most representative agency about free contest based on ability here can become schools.

A school is a social selection agency distributing the occupational and social status of the future society by preparing their members for the future lives variously according to their own abilities and interests. Therefore, both the intergenerational mobility of social status in the individual level, and social equalization and justice in the social and national level are regarded as possibly realized by displaying the personal abilities through the fair contest in schoolings even if the students are low in the socio-economic status of their family. Nowadays, schoolings became the universal criterion the occupational systems use when they select their new members, as seen in the viewpoint above. That is, schooling credentials are regarded as the most important factor deciding social status as well as occupational one in the future.

And then, why does the society need schooling credentials? The optimistic theorists about schoolings assert that the occupational systems of the society require people who possess the ability or technique basic to perform the occupational roles, and the needed manpower within them can be fostered through the training of the schoolings. The background of this assertion consists in the change of the occupational structure in the industrial society. In other words, it is because high level technique required occupations increased while low level technique required occupation decreased and the high level technique was strongly required even within the occupational systems, the schoolings came to take charge of the roles to train both general ability and special technique for the occupation* to students. In this context,

* It means the shift of schooling value from symbolic to functional one. (R. Havighurst, 1958)

many people came to want the schoolings in order to attain the profitable occupational status in the society and their socio-economic welfare depended upon how much they would be educated became the dominant notion among people.

Can the schooling years really decide their welfare? Are schoolings dominated by the achievement factor and ability without relations with the personal ascribed status and resultantly helping the personal upward mobility of the social status? On these questions, the optimists assert the relations among the family background, schoolings, and social achievements such as follows. That is, (1) the family bookground can influence the schoolings, (2) the family background, however, doesn't make a large influence on social achievement and, (3) therefore, schoolings are regarded as a decisive role player toward social achievement (C.H. Persell, 1977; Han Jun-sang, 1981). The notion on the decisive roles of schooling toward social achievement was empirically proved by Blau & Duncan (1967), after the descriptive utterance of Durkheim, Parsons (1959), and Dreeben (1968).

Blau & Duncan (1967) made positivistic analysis on intergenerational mobility of social status in dealing with the occupational status at first, by overcoming the limits of sampling problem on the measurement of social status mobility, methodological problems of statistic analysis considering multivariables, and measurement problem of status mobility, etc. They reached the results that student achievement, separated from social status, influenced the social economic and occupational achievements of the person and the student achievement, under the condition that family background variables were controlled, made more influence on the personal attainment of social status. This fact can be shown such as in the Figure-1 (C.H. Persell, 1977 : 154).

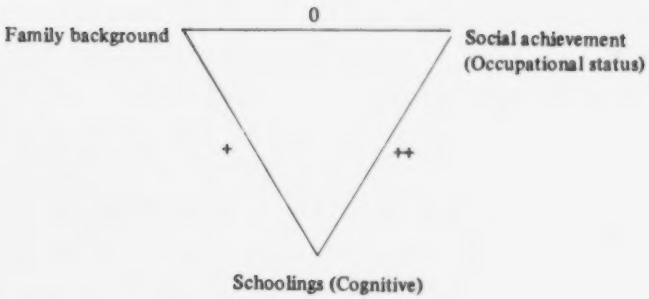

Figure 1. Schooling Effect Model of Blau & Duncan

Sewell & Hauser also, like Blau & Duncan, found out that the person's attainment of the occupational status could be explained seventy percents by student achievement and the rest thirty percents were decided by the interactions of schoolings and occupations. The findings reported in the other study was that the variables established in order to explain the occupational status as well as socio-economic status of the family, except the student achievement made an indirect influence on the occupational status, with the student achievement as an intervening variable (Sewell, Hauser, Featherman, 1976 : 23).

The research findings above were regarding schoolings as playing an instrumental role in the occupational status attainment and the family background variables as playing relatively important role to the occupational status attainment in the influencing process than schoolings to it. They showed us especially, the strong belief on education that the social status mobility could be possible only by the personal ability rather than by social structural change, as the mobility rate of social

status was not increased by the political innovation or technological change (Blau & Duncan, 1967).

This positive and optimistic view on schooling effect represents the view of the liberal reformists that the educational reforms for equal opportunity of education should be worldly performed in order to realize the social equality sinceafter the era of 1960's. However, the optimistic view was challenged so much because of the gaps between the optimistic belief and realities.

Was the social inequality problem really solved by the expansion of educational opportunity as asserted by the optimists? Also, were schoolings being performed completely by the personal ability and efforts independent on the family background? Why were schooling credentials or diploma required as the important conditions in the process of social selections? The questions above were raised by skepticists on schooling effects.

Many people were dominantly skeptic on whether the social inequality was really resoluted by the expansion of educational opportunity, in the first question stated above. A. Anderson (1961) who threw the doubt on this question at first reported that the correlation between social achievement and education of sons was lower than those between both of father's, and the opportunity to reach better social status could not be improved by increasing relative schooling years, in analyzing the relations between education and social status mobility in America, Swedish and England. This was the conclusion to reject the main prepositions of the meritocratic society and the belief of the liberal reformists.

Moreover, A. Anderson reanalyzed Boalt's (1953) in swedish and Glass' (1954) materials in England which were measuring the relations between education and social status mobility, he there proved once again his conclusions the influence which education made on social status mobility was skeptic, by displaying low correlation between education and social status mobility.

R. Boudon (1973) also displayed the practical results about the skeptical role performance of education toward the increase of social status mobility and realization of social equality, by reanalyzing A. Anderson's (1961) and Centers' (1949) materials. Although the liberal reformists believe that social inequality also decreases as inequality of educational opportunity decreases, the decrease of inequal educational opportunity cannot really cause the decrease of social inequality because of the low correlation between education and social status mobility. He denied the optimism on schooling effects, in displaying the results that the change of social status distribution was slower than the change in the distribution of schooling years, and the mobility rate of social status among countries which were different in the distribution structure of educational opportunity became similar because of the complex operations among factors to influence social status mobility.

L. Thurow (1972), R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (1972) also agreed to the skeptic view of schoolings toward social equality. L. Thurow reported that the economic inequality would rather increase though educational inequality decreased in America from 1949 to 1969. R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset presented the conclusion that mobility rate of social status was similar even though social class structure, educational system, and the distribution state of educational opportunity, were different in industrial societies, in comparing mobility rate of social status among several industrial societies. That is, these research findings informed us of little correlation between social status mobility and the opportunity structure of schools.

Ivar Berg (1972), R.B. Freeman (1976), and R.H. Hall (1975) also asserted that education was not helpful for social class mobility due to the low correlations between education and occupation. And they also pointed out that it was a large problem for people to think of over-education on account of "The welfare depends upon how many years people are educated."

The skeptical viewpoint that schoolings didn't make an influ-

ence on social status mobility was also displayed in the researches by Jencks et al. (1972). Jencks et al. reported that there was no correlation between schooling years or cognitive factor and personal income, and especially there was no relation between father's occupation or educated level and son's income. However, they presented the findings of higher correlation (r =.648) between occupation and schoolings than that (r = .353) between income and schoolings.

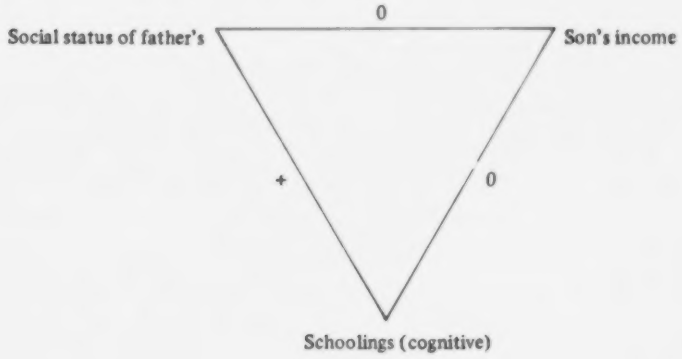

Figure 2. Schooling Effect Model of Jencks'

In order to clarify more the skeptical role performance of schoolings toward the social status attainment the rest two questions will be investigated below.

The skepticists don't think that the society requires schooling credentials because the students can be trained able and skillful for the occupation in the industrial society requiring high-level technique through schoolings as the optimists asserted, about the second question why the society requires schooling credentials. And also, they don't think that high productivity will be expected or people can live with abundance in accordance with schooling years as the optimists asserted.

(Berg, 1970 : 85-104, 143-176; Hagstrom & Hagens, 1968 in Collins, 1971).

The assertion of the optimists that the society requires high level education because of high productivity effect through schoolings is being criticized contradictory, in the research findings below. That is, the degree of the expansion in educational opportunity among the countries similar in the economic growth level is different, contrary to the assertion the optimists made (David, 1963, 1964), and the educational opportunity was expanded before the economic development due to the time lag between education and economic development (Collins, 1971).

What are the reason the society requires schooling credentials in spite of much unexplicative part of the ground the society requires high-educated labor power in cases of the exploition of the variables such as productivity and income seen in the researches above? Bowles & Gintis explain us the reasons very well. Bowles & Gintis (1973) investigated schooling effect to the social status attainment displaying the relations among family background, education, and the attainment of social status like in Figure-3 below.

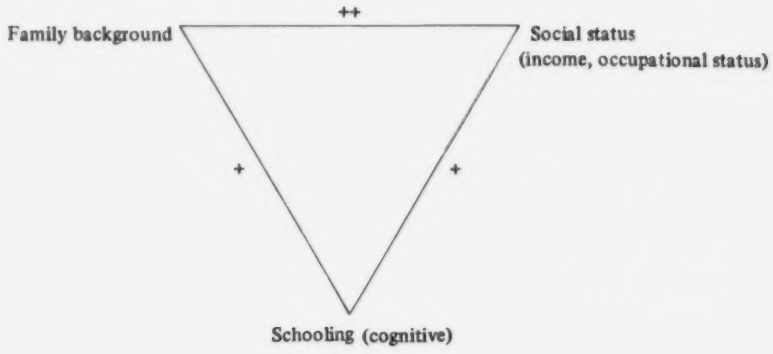

Figure 3. Schooling Effect Model of Bowles & Gintis

The social status is being decided more by family background than by schooling, seen in Figure-3. The family background also makes an indirect influence on social status through the influential power of schoolings by family background. Therefore, schooling is the system to reproduce the social inequality, and it is reflected in schoolings. In other words, schooling takes charge of the roles as a mechanism of social control to attempt at the social and political security by fostering the students with the social value in the social system dominant in the capitalistic society personalities (perseverance, dependency, order observance, congruence, love of alma matas, etc). (S. Bowles & H. Gintis, 1976 : 26-36, M. Sarup, 1978 : 165-171).

Therefore, the employers come to think that it is easier to deal with higher educated person, and they require schooling credentials dependent upon the productivity in order to rationalize the notions above.

Besides, schooling is a supplying system of the capitalism, by teaching the occupational performance. Accordingly, schools are regarded as agencies to take charge of the roles to maintain the existing inequal system rather than to realize the equalization through social status mobility.

Jencks et al. (1972) also assert that the employers require higher educated persons consists in non-economic cause rather than in economic causes related to productivity. That is, they point out that the dominant groups think that they can maintain their social prestige by rearranging people who have schooling credentials when they select their new members, in order to justify the social inequality. Also, they are asserting that the employers are rationalizing the effects of schoolings to inequality by attributing the responsibility of social inequality to the individual shortage of ability, in using the principle of excellence that social success of the individuals depends upon personal ability (Jencks et al., 1972). In this point, Jencks also has the same thought with Bowles & Gintis that schoolings reflect the inequality

of social structure and reproduce it.

R. Collins also, denying the hypothesis of the optimists that the productivity depends upon the education level of the company members, asserts that the considerations in selecting new members at the company are cultural acquirements and life attitude of rather than knowledge level of the applicants. Accordingly, the primary reference for selections consists in power maintenance of the dominant groups, and the technical skill is the secondary. Schoolings are regarded as a symbolic value reflecting the benefits of the groups, as schooling credentials present cultural acquirements or life attitude (R. Collins, 1971 in J. Karabell & A.H. Halsey, 1977 : 118-132). Litt (1963), Steinitz (1973), Clark (1960), and Rothbart (1970) also assert that schoolings are functioning only as the means to justify the existing inequal structure of the society. Hurn (1978) and Mills (1963) also agree to the notion. Mills think that power elites are using school institution in order to maximize the personal interests through structural connections among main social institutions-politic, economic and cultural institutions (Han Jun-sang, 1981 : 27).

R. Collins, Hurn, and Mills make an agreement with Bowles & Gintis in the context that they regard schoolings as the social phenomena to speak for the conflicts among status groups for the attainment of social status, political dominance, and economic understanding. However, they are separated from the correspondence theory of Bowles & Gintis', at two viewpoints below. The first one is that they diversified the dominant groups into politic, economic and social ones by introducing the diversity of prestige system Weber suggested. The second is that they make an emphasis on its importance that schooling plays the decisive roles in the personal advance in the society, because schoolings reflect the interest relations of the various status groups.

In Figure-4, Han Jun-sang, (1981) is showing the relations among schooling, family background, and social achievements they are asserting, and he is naming their viewpoints as status group theory

owing to those differences above.

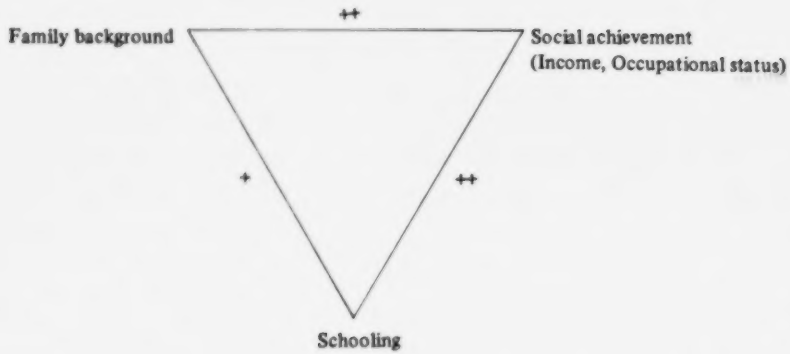

Figure 4. Schooling Effect Model of Status Group Theory

Common in correspondence theory, in Jencks' theory, and in status group theory, schooling influence toward social achievements is regarded as indirect results of ascriptive factors of family through schoolings intervening social status of the family toward social achievement. Therefore, schoolings in fact can be viewed as the results that the ascriptive factors in the society are disguised as achieved factors, although schoolings are being institutionally regarded as indicators presenting the achievement (Karabell & Halsey, 1977 : 184).

The concept about the equal opportunity of education is subject to be changed according to the appearances of the strong skepticism on meritocratism to schoolings. In other words, equalizing only the opportunity is regarded as a role performance to legitimate the influence of ascriptive factor-family background-of the person under the pretext of the so-called fair contest. Therefore, an equalization of only the opportunity can be said remote from the realization of social equality through schoolings. Accordingly, an attempt at the equality of the results advanced in the equality of the opportunity can only make the

realization of social equality through schoolings possible, it is thought. This is the concept of equality in the "positive sense" as Rawls (1971) asserted and becomes a background Coleman (1967) corrected his concept about an equal opportunity of education.

These skeptic conclusions on schooling effects can be found also in the Korean research findings.

The positivistic research analyses on schoolings, social status mobility, and social achievement are very few and an uncultivated area in Korea. That educational opportunities are unequally distributed and schoolings are suppressing the social status mobility by its functions to the inheritable transmission of the social class is the conclusion in Korea. Accordingly, nonetheless the up-to-date expansion of educational opportunity in Korea, the social class mobility would rather be lessened (Yu Pal-moo, 1981; McGinn et al., 1980 : 175).

Common in and outside the country, the arguments between the optimism and pessimism on schooling effects reserve continuing.

2. Determinants of Schooling

In the research reviews before, the scholars conclude that schooling makes an important influence on social achievement, even direct or as a intervening variable to reproduce the influence of family background. So, it will be necessary to investigate the factors to influence the process and effects of schoolings in order to analyze in detail whether schoolings contribute to social achievement or not.

There are two viewpoints about whether the family background or the inequal structure of the society makes an influence on the process and effects of schoolings, one is meritocratic or functional viewpoint and the other is radical and conflict theory. According to the meritocratic viewpoint, the structural factors of the society-class, region, sex, and race-do not make a significant influence on the school achievement or entrance to advanced course of schoolings. However, vice

versa in the conflict viewpoints. So, research variables being dealt with in the two viewpoints are greatly different each other.

The functionalism reflects the traditional view on school achievement. That is, school achievement depends upon intellectual ability of students. The functionalists, of course, regard that motive, aspiration of father and student, educational aspiration, school resources, and teacher's quality as well as ability make as influence on school achievement. Seen in the above, the functional viewpoints are the optimistic ones that the students can accomplish the high achievement without relations to the social group (class, race, sex, and regions, etc.) they belong to, if they have only to study hard and teachers to teach them hard.

However, the conflict viewpoints are different from the functional ones. The conflict viewpoints are the pessimistic ones that student achievement depends upon what a social group they belong to, because their ability itself is influenced by the social group they belong to, and also school curriculum (e.g. educational contents), tracking systems, teacher's expectation about students, career guidance and evaluation, etc. are also influenced by the group they belong to.

Persell (1977) put together the variables used in the two viewpoints. He divided them into three areas. That is, I.Q. or learning ability, the cultural family background, and school cheracteristics or teacher's expectation. And then, the theories related to the influencing power of the variables toward schooling effects will be investigated below.

First of all, I.Q., has been traditionally hypothesized as a factor to make the largest influence on student achievement. In other words, it is the traditional assertion that student achievement is wholly decided by I.Q. and that students from lower class and black society are poor in school achievement is because their innate intellectual ability is bad.

However, coming into the 20th century, this assertion began

to be criticized through several phases. Especially, the conflict theorists asserted that I.Q. and school achievement were not innate but greatly influenced by a cultural background of the family the students grew up, and the cultural background became influenced by the structure of socio-economic inequality in the society. (Deuth, 1964; Plowden, 1967). According to them, the family from low socio-economic status show the phenomena of cultural deprivation, which makes the negative influence on learning ability development of the children.

The researches related to the cultural deprivation are divided into three areas-socialization patterns, cognitive styles, and language model. The value orientation theory among social classes Kluckhohn (1961) performed gives us many suggestions on the socialization patterns in the family. According to kluckhohn, While people from higher than middle class are more individualistic, more future-oriented, more behavior-oriented, and orient more positive value toward nature, people from low class orient the horizontal value to emphasize the homogeneity in the group, present-centered value, state-maintenance value, and fatalistic value. These differences in the value orientation bring about the differences in the socialization patterns among classes by playing the important role in the socialization process. That is, as children are socialized in the middle class family by the methods of the personal control the person can be esteemed and the interpreted control the autonomy of the family members are emphasized (Bernstein, 1972), so they show the characteristics of participatory socialization pattern that children's needs, interests and curiosity are esteemed, indirective, taking the general superintendent form, the psychological mechanism of praise and punishment would be used rather than the physical one, and the linguistic communication system and behavior motive are regarded as of great importance (Broom & Selznick, 1970). While children from low class family show the characteristics of the repressive socialization pattern which children's interests and curiosities are often

despised or suppressed by adults, praise and punishment are given to them at parent's option through the physical method, and non-linguistic and imperative communication system and behavior results rather than motive are regarded as of great importance, as the underlying norms within the special or universal status the individual belong to are regarded as of importance and they become socialized by the positional and received control that group customs and habits endow the personal behavior with the absolute meaning.

This difference of the socialization patterns among social classes develop different cognitive styles and language modes to the students. Cognitive styles can become a mechanism to decide the personal inclinations about ways of perceptive organizations, conceptualizations and categorization toward the external environment, as forms of things in the mind, as a perception model, and as a cognitive system for interpretation model (Kagan, 1963). Cohen (1969) discerning the cognitive skills into two kinds reported that the analytic conceptual style of the formal abstraction and field independent characteristics in the middle class and relational conceptual styles of discriptive abstraction and field dependent characteristics in the low class are developed. And then, the conceptual style school learning characteristics requires is analytic one, so the relational conceptual style which is short-spanned and concrete causes cognitive poverty from the students and becomes impediment factor for learning.

Considered in sociolinguistic viewpoints, language is formed within the range of the styles that the members belonging to the specified society perceive, which considerably organizes human thinkings and decides the way of perceptions toward the objects. In these senses, language has important relations with learning. According to Bernstein (1972), the families from the middle class are better developing their children elaboated codes in language selections and organizations, and attitude constructions toward language, by requiring them to express with the structural grasp of the relations among objects, by encouraging

to refine cognitive expressions linguistically, and by developing the cognitive systems children can study analytically even the events they face newly. While the restricted code is well developed in the family from the low class, because they are restricted in expressing the emotions linguistically, and the communication system depending upon affective and cognitive indifferentiations and social symbols is dominant among them. However, the learning environment requires the elaborated code from the students and accordingly, the students from the low class will have the impediments for learning.

The school characteristics will be examined in the sides of school resources, tracking systems, educational contents, teacher's expectations and behaviors below. Examined about school resources variables at first, Coleman et al (1966) reported that school characteristic variables-school resources, physical facilities and tuition fee, etc-could not explain student achievement variance as much as the family background factor of the students. Brookover et al (1977) also reported the overall school administrative and financial system had little correlation with student achievement. But Persell (1977) hypothesized that school resources and control style toward them have high correlations with educational effect (esp, in the affective traits factor of the students) in pointing out the several researches that resources distribution has correlations with student achievement (Brown and Saks, 1975 ; Rilterband, 1973; Summers and Walfe, 1975). In America, schools operated by the communities are more vivid in intellectual activity, stronger in the personal responsibility, and have the openning school climate (Guttertage, 1973). Also, the degree of bureaucratization in schools is related to achievement level of students, because it is related to the degree of alienation (Anderson, 1971). That is, the more the administrators are, the lower the students are in the achievement, while, the more the teachers are, the higher the students are in the achievement (Bidwell & Kasarda, 1975). Although the researches on teacher-student ratio present the results that it has little correlation with student

achievement, it is reported that it will be at least related to the affective characteristics of the students (Bidwell & Kasarda, 1975). In other words, it means that the difference in the amount the teachers control the students will result in student's characteristics-creative thinking, expressive power, self-reliance, and controling power about the environment around them.

Tracking system is divided into two kinds. One is a tracking about school institutions and the other is a tracking of within-schools. Both of these trackings are aroused as the results of the selections. The former is possible in multi-tracking educational system. In the country just like England, selection has a significant meaning on even social achievement as well as on student achievement. In America adopting the single-tracking system, it has a significant meaning on segregation rather than on selection.

In Korea, because it is adopting the single-tracking system institutionally but adding more or less the characteristies of the multi-tracking system (differentiation of liberal arts and occupational high schools), and the openness of access opportunity to education is not guaranted enough, selection has the meaning about the access opportunity to education and tracking differentiation in high school. According to research findings on access opportunity to education until now, the greatest influential factors are the student achievement level and socio-economic status of the family(Chung Bum-mo, 1978; Lee Jong-jae, 1978). And it is also different according to the differences of sex and residential regions (Cha Kyeong-soo, 1973). It is not easy to find out the remarkable researches of related factors toward the tracking differentiation at high school in Korea. But, in foreign countries, the influence of the cultural family background as well as of the student ability toward tracking differentiation is being operated in early selection process, and elite consciousness and positive self-concept selected at the better schools are needed to possess, while negative self-expectation effect in vice versa (Eggleston, 1974; Persell,

1977).

Examined in tracking differentiation in the level of within-school, the research findings are showing that the selection in advanced and non-advanced course and ability groupings are closely related to class background of the students, which influences learning effects (Persell, 1977). There are great possibility for the students from good background to belong to the advanced course of excellence groups, so they are regarded as to receive more profitable opportunity or benefits in content construction stage of curriculum, teaching method, and teacher-student contact frequencies, etc. Findley and Bryan (1970), Esposito (1973) report that ability groupings increase learning effects in knowledge-centered curriculum, and higher effects in excellence group by it was proved to be true, while ability grouping made a negative influence to under-achieving groups in case of the affective subjects.

The traditional view about curriculum contents is that knowledge as a whole of the cultural inheritance of the mankind is divided into some subjects and there is nothing doubtful about the values of such subjects. However, sociology of knowledge recently suggested the doubts on the meaning and justification of knowledge or sociological meaning about those subjects. M.F.D. Young, one of the representative scholars in sociology of knowledge, criticized knowledge which is being taught in the schools at the five levels like the below (Lawton, 1976).

Level 1. That the present structure and organization of education in our society serves to preserve the status quo in an unjust society-this level is particularly concerned with questions such as the social distribution of knowledge.

Level 2. That in particular the content of education-the selection of knowledge for transmission by schools-should be made into a problem for critical examination rather than be taken for granted; this level is concerned with what counts for knowledge in our society, and the stratification of knowledge.

Level 3. That subject barriers are arbitrary and artificial, existing largely

for the convenience of those in control of education.

Level 4. That all knowledge is socially constructed.

Level 5. That not only knowledge but rationality itself is merely a convention.

Several researches agreed to Young's idea of level 1 and 2 (J. Eggleston, 1974; Bernstein, 1972) even if his ideas in level 3,4 and 5 are not easy to accept among those 5 levels above. Practical researches on level 1 in Korea were being presented as before. But more studies are required if level 1 and 2 ideas are establishing in the country like Korea.

Most researches on teaching events within school classes concentrated on teacher's behavior-what influences do teaching methods or qualities make on learning effects? Or, what teaching methods are effectful among various claracteristics of students? (Bloom, 1976). Also, those researches mostly concluded that the teaching models made an influence on learning effects.

However, other researches reported that teachers' perception in their mind toward student individuals rather than toward teachers' overt behavior was a more important factor to cause the difference among students, such a assertion was more extended by the research publication on self-fulfilling prophecy of Rosenthal & Jacobson's (1968). Brookover (1973) established a new concept called school learning climate by developing the relations of perceptions and expectations. That is, he extracted 14 subvariables of school learning climate by using factor analysis, and found out that learning climate was an important factor to cause the difference in student achievement through the positivistic researches (Brookover, 1977).

Conflict theorists discuss the effects of teachers' expectations in a more or less different viewpoint from the above. That is, teachers make the students from low class possess the negative self-fulfilling prophecy by expecting the failures from them (Hurn, 1978) Persell (1977) also asserted, in more analytical research on the origin of teacher

expectation, that teacher expectations about students were influenced by students' class background, races, educational structure like ability grouping reflecting the dominant structure of the society as well as by student achievement, behavior, facial movement and teachers' own background (class, race, educated level, etc.).

It is being reported that the differences in expectations formed via the above bring about the difference in teachers' behavior toward the student individuals, or in interaction patterns between teachers and students, which significantly influence the student achievement at last. That is, there are many research findings that teachers spend most time of his own with the students they are expecting higher. For example, Brophy & Good (1970) found out the inclination that teachers would very often praise students when the students teachers were expecting high made many responses to the questions they made and teachers would not reproach students even when they were wrong or made no answer. Given (1974) and Rist (1970) also found out the inclination that teachers made many positive responses to the students they are expecting high rather than to the students they are expecting low.

Persell (1977) divided social psychological mechanisms that teacher expectations were transmitted to the students into four forms like the below.

(1) There is the difference in content constructions of curriculums or productions of materials. The difficulty degrees of contents and teaching amount are different according to expectation level of teachers toward students.

(2) Teachers generally give much warmth to students they are expecting high.

(3) Expecting level of teachers' is transmitted to students by non-linguistic forms, for example, frequencies and amount of eye contact, eye gestures, facial movement, and soft touching, etc.

(4) Teachers cause differences in achievements among students by praising and encouraging more positively, giving the response time to questions longer or reconstructing questions, leading intellectual response through frequent questioning and raising questioning level to students they are expecting high.

Seen in the discussions until now, schooling process and effects are influenced by IQ or learning ability, family background, and school characteristics, etc., and such schooling effects and student achievement level are hypothesized as significantly influential player in accomplishing social achievement as well as an entrance to advanced courses.

3. Concepts and Related Variables of Social Achievements

A. Concepts and Areas

Social achievement is an attainment of valuable objects which are recognized desirable in the society. In this sence, it is an attainment of socio-economic status and an arrangement to social class, because social class becomes an important reference in obtaining the results the person wants socially.

People came to understand that the inequality was socially formed since Rousseau denied the theory on the origin of the inequality, much discussion has been progressed on formative background and phenomena of social classes, social inequality. The hierachical order in society causing social inequality is called social class, or socio-economic status.

Marx asserted that social class brought about sinceafter private ownership system, and was originated by the difference of status and role the person possessed in the productive organization of the industrial society. He also asserted that the social class was classified into capitalists class possessing productive means and laborer class not possessing them. Therefore, the social class could be regarded as a

concept using only one indicater in an economical dimension which interprets the inequal structure of the society with bourgeois and proletalia.

Social stratification (social class), besides an economical power, meant a social ranking order which could be classified by power or prestige which the members of the society were accepting desirable, which was the interactive results of social differentiations and social evaluation.

So, social class was the inequal structure of the society classified by class consciousness among the members to recognize the practical and objective difference which was existing in the society, while social stratification was an ordinal among the status locating on the continuum line, and analyzed the inequal structure of the society by classifying it according to evaluating scales of measurers. Therefore, viewpoints on social stratification were very various because the structural differentiations in the modern society and evaluating scales were very various.

Max Weber (1947) asserted that social inequality should be examined through three dimensions of class, status and power and that social inequality was the result that power was unbalancedly distributed. Weber's class here was the same concept with Marx. Status pointed out the positision in the distributive system of social esteem which was decided by social respect, honor, and prestige given in the society(Weber, 1946: 186). Also, power was a possible hierarchy for the inducement toward ones' will. In this sense, Marx's class concept for the analysis of the inequality structure was judged as developed by Max Weber.

After Max Weber, social inequality was being analyzed as a multi-dimensional concept. For example, Persell (1977) reported that the basis of social inequality consisted in wealth, purchase of labor power in market place, and caste, in analyzing the dominant group of the American society. And also, he asserted that an economical wealth was the unique and largest origin of the social inquality, which

even was inherited under the pretext of meritocratic ideology. Moreover, he regarded that social inequality was caused according to the reward realities by purchase of labor power. Rewards here meant income difference, difference of social consequence, job conditions, job fellow patterns, social contact pattern, power relation pattern and life opportunity. Therefore, the concept was regarded as related to occupational status.

Seen in the above, Persell regarded that the origin of the social inequality was the result of the reward realities by the position at the labor market. Although Persell considered class and status variables in classifying social class as many sociologists did, he pointed out that separating the class related to labor market and the status related to social honor was more appropriate in analyzing the social inequality in the traditional society, while it was so difficult to separate them because they were too interrelated in the industrial society. Therefore, income was related to class. And working conditions, autonomy, and working patterns, etc. were related to status. But the relation between these two concepts within the occupational status was very high (Persell, 1977 : 25).

The caste Persell suggested as a reference for analysis of social inequality meant the stratification by race.

Examined in the above, social class was being analyzed in the multidimensions by the objective indicators such as economic status and occupational status, etc. rather than by single dimension or factor. However, social class should be analyzed by subjective indicators, also.

J.A. Kahl suggested class consciousness, and value orientation as subjective references. The importance of subjective evaluation in analyzing social class also was emphasized by R. Centers (1949), W.L. Werner (1960) and Tumin (1970).

Tumin (1970) found out that a psychological satisfaction was an important factor in forming social class, regarding that social class was to arrange the society or social groups into hierachical system by

inequally distributing power, wealth, social evaluation, and psychological satisfaction. That is, Tumin defined that psychological satisfaction was caused by the positive evaluation and value embeddedness toward oneself, which was occurred by possessing the social wealth the others did not possess. Accordingly, analyzing social achievement would be the same as analyzing the social position of the person by using the reference and method for analysis of social class, regarding social achievement as socio-economic status attainment and arrangement to social class.

Regarding social achievement as an arrangement to social class in this research according to the literature survey above, the social achievement was measured at five factors-occupational status, economical status, ascribed class status, life satisfaction and subjective evaluation about social achievement.

B. Related Variables

Examined in the above, social achievement could be analyzed by occupational status, economic status, ascribed class by occupational and economic status, and psychological satisfaction, etc. Most researches mainly dealt with occupational status in order to analyze the social achievement, because researchers thought that occupation in fact became a basis of social class due to its important role to decision of income, life style and status, and due to the easiness in measuring it. (Blau & Duncan, 1967; P. Blumberg, 1972: 496).

Occupational status attainment was mainly analyzed with relation to intergenerational cycling mobility. That is, social mobility was divided into two kinds. Intergenerational mobility and intragenerational one. This area dealt with related variables and phenomena of social and occupational mobility between two generations of father and son.

It was Blau and Duncan (1967) that at first defined the ordinals

among occupations on the ground of social prestige. Blau & Duncan (1967) analyzed the mobility between father and son, under the hypothesis that the ordinals of occupational status would not be changed. This is, he intended to examine the relations between father's and son's occupations in order to study the social mobility. Also, this research was to analyze if social status was decided by ascribed factors just like family background or by achieved factors just like the personal efforts and ability. Their research found out that 37 percents' sons of manual workers moved upward into non-manual worker or white-collar occupation. Also, they asserted that this upward mobility could be regarded as the educational effects and that the family background dependent on education attainment could not make an influence on occupational status. The influence of father's occupation toward son's occupational status was also analyzed by L.S.E. Study (1949) and Oxford Study (1972), the correlation between father's and son's occupations in the L.S.E. Study (1949) was .46 and this meant that father's occupation could explain 20 percents of son's occupation. However, Oxford study found out that the correlation was .36, and so father's occupations explained 12.6 percents of son's occupations (A.H. Halsey, 1977 : 174).

W.H. Sewell & R.M. Hauser analyzed the influences of related variables to socio-economic status attainment-ascribed factors of the family (educational level of parents, occupation, income, race, religion, etc), schooling years, IQ, level of educational and occupational aspiration, perceptions of parents-teachers-fellows's expectations toward student's educational and occupational plan, and community size, etc. In their researches (1964), they reported that considered independent variables explained 50 percents of educational levels and 40 percents of occupational status, and that educational attainment played an important role in deciding occupational status and the other variables made an influence on occupational status through the intervention of education.

In their researches (1972, 1975) using path analysis and re-

arranging the variables, they found out again school education was functioning as an intervening variables of family background and the other socio-psychological variable toward occupational status, and education attainment explained 75 percents of occupational status.

Jencks (1975) investigated the relations of educational credentials, socio-economic status of parents (occupation, education), cognitive skill, qualities of schoolings, and race, as determinant factors of occupational status. Here, cognitive skill meant test scores and IQ, qualities of schoolings meant the difference of cognitive and non-cognitive skill, educational credentials, number of student expecting the entrance to university, and information and contact amount for better occupation.

He reported the results like the below. Correlation coefficient (C.C. in the below) between occupational status and father's occupation was r = .440, C.C. between occupational status and father's education was r = .350, C.C. between occupational status and son's education was r = .648, and C.C. between occupational status and IQ was r = .522. So the occupational status of the person had the highest relations with education, and the whole variables explained 44.3 percents of the variance in occupational status according to path analysis. Therefore, they found out that family background or cognitive skill influenced indirectly occupational status through schoolings, and schooling years played a decisive role on occupational status. The explicative variance 44.3% of occupational status by the whole variables Jencks analyzed was comparatively higher than 40.8% of Duncan and 34.4% of Sewell and Hauser, and the variables Jencks was establishing were higher in influenitial power than those of the other.

Seen in the above discussion, family background, education, and psychological traits and cognitive skill of the person could be displayed as determinant factors of occupational status attainment. In most researches, socio-economic status of parent's occupation and education as family background factor, schooling years, educational

credentials, and schooling quality as education factors, IQ as psychological and cognitive skill of the person, and LOA and significant other's expections, etc were being considered.

Seen in the side of family structure, family size was the important factor. S.H. Lipset & R. Bendix (1959) found out that upward mobility of social status was the easiest one in case of only one son and no daughter, or one son and one daughter, and that the possibility on the upward mobility of all the children would be lessened in case of many children. This was interpreted due to the sponsoring role of the parents. And also birth order and sex ratio would be important factors. Birth place or urbanization level in childhood should considered as an influencing factor (Hopper, 1971).

In education factors, education route (Tracks in majors), educational resources, and social characteristics within schools should be included as related factors to occupational status attainment of the person. (Hopper, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Kerkhoff, compbell, Trnut, 1982). Especially, education route was regarded as the important factors to find out the difference in occupational and social status attainment because the education route caused the difference in the preparation level of occupational performance ability and experience among individuals. (Hopper, 1971).

In personal characteristics factors, personality and self-concept would be important variables for social status attainment of the person.

Collins (1971) and Bowles & Gintis (1976) asserted that non-cognitive factors were more influential than cognitive factors among the influences of education toward occupational status and income. Cultural acquirements and life attitude in Collins (1971), and value and personalities emphasized in occupational world in Bowles and Gintis were regarded as more important factors for occupational status attainment.

Sociability was recognized as an important factor for occupational status attainment. (Havighurst & Neugarton, 1968). That is,

the sociability including popularity, kindness, and leadership among occupational members could be the factors for upward mobility. And, motivation also could be included as a related factor. Motivations emphasized by McClelland were analyzed as a high correlated factor for upword mobility (T.G. Fox & S.M. Miller, 1966).

III. RESEARCH METHOD AND PROCEDURES

1. Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study aims to verify whether schooling has been contribute to eliminate the social inequality, or to take a part of role to reinforce and even accentuate existing inequality.

For the purpose, two types of different explaining model, Functional Paradigm and Conflict Paradigm, were introduced to compare how education contribute to social mobility. The empirical evidences about two different views are summerized as follows: The schooling has contributed to sorting and selection of talented pupils and to promote their social upward mobility. Accordingly schooling has contributed to reduce the existing inequality.

On the other hand, conflicting theory is trying to reveal that selection process of schooling somehow is working for predicting the privileges of upper social class in the establish social structure. Therefore education play a role to maintain the interest of the privileged group and to reproduce the existing inequality. Some studies of education and social mobility suggested that expansion of educational opportunity itself as a policy goal is not enough toward achieving meritocratic society.

It seems that the contract evidence above are well summerized in the two theoretical paradigm of schooling and social attainment. These functional and conflicting paradigm offer two different interpretation of functions of schooling and meaning of educational opportunity in a given social structure.

In comparision of two views mentioned above, How can the

present position of Korean education be explained to predict the social mobility?

To define this problem, the present study attempts to select three major variables which can be assumed to affect one's social attainment and develop a survey design to clarify the relationships of those three factors and social achievement.

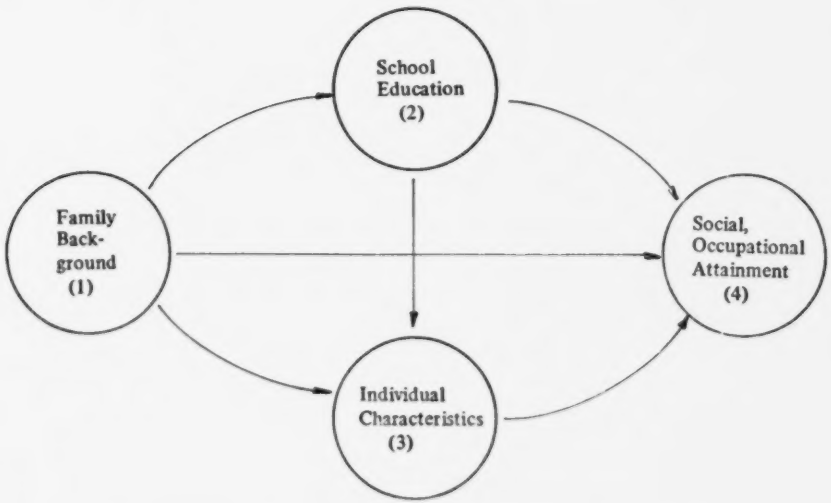

Figure 5. Causal Model of Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics and Social Achievement.

(1) measured by parent's SES, community environment, sibling, kinship, relative's support, job status, parent value for upward mobility, wife's family background.

(2) measured by physical, ecological environment, institutional patterns of school, quality of school education, school influence on job selection, academic achievement level, social evaluation on school.

(3) measured by individual efforts, intellectual ability, personal characteristics, human relationship, self-concept.

(4) measured occupational attainment, economic status, self evaluation on one's social status, satisfaction of living condition, individual evaluation on life chance, perception of social success and attainment.

As indicated in the model, it is hypothesized that three sets of major independent variables may influence directly to the social achievement. The interelationship between three variables were established by time sequence and logical paradigm of the research. The variables of family background may affect the social achievement primarily through the school education and individual characteristics. We further hypothesize that related variables of schooling have impact on the individual characteristics through which they affect the social and occupational attainment. In this study, individual characteristics include one's IQ, personality and self-concept, etc. Referring to other study, for example in Jencks (1972), in time sequence the variables of individual characteristics come before schooling variables. But this study assumed that most of individual variables fostered through the social experience after school years. Thus the time sequence of individual characteristics in this model was assumed to come next of schooling experience. Because we hypothesized that individual characteristics can foster by the effect of school education, and they may influence significently on one's social and occupational attainment. In this model the social achievement includes occupational status, economic status, ascribed-class perception, life satisfaction, and self evaluation on status attainment. The factors attributable to schooling are defined such as educational attainment, quality of education, social reputation to the school, the physical conditions of the school, student academic achievement, educational influence to the present job, and so on.

The factors of family background consist of parent's socio-economic status, community size of one's hometown, parents aspiration for upward mobility, social status of the relatives, wife parent's SES, the number of brothers and sisters. Individual traits include one's effort, cognitive skill, personality, human relationship, and self-concept, etc.

The specific questions of the study are shown as follows:

(1) To what extent can the school, family and personal related variables explain one's social status and occupational attainment?
(2) What is the relative contribution of combined effects of school, family and individual variables in predicting differences in social and economic status?
(3) Are there any causal relations between school, family background and individual traits in explaining one's social achievement?
(4) What is the limits and possibility of inter-and intragenerational mobility in Korean society.

2. Sample

The data analyzed in this study were collected mainly from the people living in the capital city of Seoul and additionally in other metropolitan cities; Daegu, Kwangzoo, Inchon, Taejon, in Korea during September in 1982. The sample of the study were selected from employees classified as the lower, middle and upper strata in socio-economic status, age of 25-65. Fifteen hundred respondents (500 in each stratum) were originally drawn through the stratified random or representative sampling method from various social and occupational sector.

Class categories are derived from the classification developed by Dr. Hong Doo-sung, a professor of Seoul National University. Woman employees were excluded in our sample because the number of sampled women was too small.

The final sample consisted of 874 respondents showed 58.2 percent return rate. The questionnaire, School and Social Achievement Survey, was developed by the research team with advice from professional personnel and was administered by researchers or through mailing.

The criterion of class classification has not strictly es-

tablished in Korean society. Generally, for the class classification, income, occupation, and social economic status are employed.

In Korean society the occupational status is one of the important factor to decide one's social achievement. Therefore, we employed the occupational status for estimate one's involvement in a class categories.

The class categories were devided into three strata such as the upper, the middle and the low class.

In the case of the upper class, we include national assemblyman, judical officers, professors senior fellow researchers, and exceutive directors in business and industrial companies. For the middle class, we sampled the public servant, clerical workers in business sectors, school teachers, researchers, etc.

And for the lower class, sweepers working at university and guards in apartment residence are selected by random sample method.

Table 1. Sample Distribution

Occupational Categories	Subjects	Sampling Techniques	Sample Size
Professional	National Assemblyman	Systematic random sample	50
	Judical officers (Judges, lowyers, prosecture)	"	50
	Professor	"	100
	Researcher	Representative sample	150
	School teacher	Systematic random sample	120
Administratives	Excutive Directors, Managers	Representative sample	180
	High-Ranking officers	"	100
Clericals	Clerical workers	"	200
	Public servent	"	50
Service workers	Sweeper	Random sample	200
	Guard	"	100
	Workman	"	200
Total			1,500

3. Research Variables

The data were collected through questionnaire; The School and Social Achievement Survey, developed by KEDI research staff with advice from professional personnel. The questionnaire are consisted of four sets of variables; individual traits, family (socio-economic) background, educational attainment, social and occupational attainment.

The variable of the family background is divided into two factors; generally the structural factor and process factors in family environment. In this study we mainly selected the relevant variables which are assumed to be related colsely to the social achievement. The structural factor is consisted of the socio-economic status of family, parent's educational attainment and occupation, the number of brothers and sisters, the social prestige of the relatives, the experiences of on-the-job training, wife's family background. The process factors included parent value of child bearing, parent's aspiration for upward mobility, the emphasis on social attainment.

The variable of educational attainment is divided into three factor; the institutional factor, progress factor, product factor. The physical and institutional factor contained the school location, school size, public vs. private school, institutional system (regular vs. irregular school), professional tracks in high school and in college level.

The process factors are based on the quality of education and school. It consisted of the teacher's effort for instruction, quality of teachers, academic climate of school, the rate of entrance into a school of higher grade, school facilities and equipment, etc. The productive factor included the school quality of graduation, social reputation on the school at which someone attended in old days, and respondent's academic achievement in each school.

The variables of individual traits are measured with the cognitive ability, personality, self-concept, human relationships, behavioral characteristics and the effort for self-improvement. For

the measurement of these six sub-factors, semantic differential scale (Osgood, 1957) was applied. The individual effort for improvement can be measured in various methods, but we mainly concern on the elements such as the personal experience of out-of-school education and its time involvement, the type of a special license getting by a special education.

The variable of social achievement is based on a weighed combination of socio-economic status, occupational attainment, self-evaluation on one's social status, satisfaction of living condition, individual evaluation on life chance, perception for social success and attainment.

The economic status was measured by the combination of income and wealth (cultural properties at home). For the purpose of this analysis we took a average mean of the sum of score from income and wealth. The other variables were attributable to respondent's self-evaluation or perception. Those are scored by five or seven points rating scale.

Income data were originally divided into seven categorized and refer to the monthly average income derived from the respondent's occupation and occupation related activities.

Occupational status is measured by applying professor Hong's classification model (1980) to 30 categories. The validity of this scale was testified with one percent of sample from Korean census in 1975. We assigned score (7 to 1) to these categories and calculated the average score attributed to each occupation by these pair-wise comparisions.

The other variables were attributable to respondent's self-evaluation or perception. Those are scored by five or seven points rating scale.

Table 2. Research Variables

Categories	Subcategories	Variables	Item Number
Individual Demographic Background (6)		. Sex	1
		. Age	2
		. Residence	3
		. Marital status	4
		. Family size	5
		. Family type	6
Social and Occupational Attainment	Occupational status	. Occupation	7
		. Experience	8
	Economical status	. Early occupation	9
		. Income	10
	Self-evaluation of class involvement	. Cultural properties at home	11
		. Consiousness of class involvement	12
		. Push for children's job selection	13
	Degree of job satisfaction	. Job statisfaction	14
	Individual evaluation for one's life chance perception of social success	. Evaluations of present, and future life	15, 16
		. Expectation of success	17
		. Expectation of failure	18
		. Reasons of success and failure	
Family Background	Parent's socio-economic status	. Father's occupation	20
		. Father's education	21

Categories	Subcategories	Variables	Item Number
	Size of community	. Parent economic status	22
		. Community of younger year	23
	Sibling pattern	. Number of siblings	24
		. Relative's social position	25
	Relative's position	. Relative's support	26
		. Channel of job placement	27
	Way of gaining job	. Parent emphasis on upward mobility	28
	Parent's aspiration to upward mobility	. Parent emphasis on social attainment	29
		. Wife's father occupation	30
	Wife's family Background	. Wife's father education	31
School-related Variables	Physical, institutional factors	. School location	32
		. Size of school	33
		. Public or private school	34
	Quality of education	. Major field in college and university	35
		. Connection of major area and present job	36
		. Teachers expectation for teaching	37
		. Quality of instruction	38
		. Facilities and equipment of school	39

Categories	Subcategories	Variables	Item Number
		. Academic climate of school	40
		. Amount of entrance into higher grade school	41
	Educational influence to occupational placement	. School influence to job placement placement	44
		. Quality of college education	45
	Educational attainment	. School record of achievement	46
	Social evaluation of the school	. Social reputation of graduated school	47
Individual Characteristics	Cognitive skill	. Experience of out-of-school education	49
	Personality	. Years of out-of-school education	50
		. Types of license	51-52
	Human relations	. Perceived I.Q.	53
	Self-concept	. Personality perception	54
		. Intimacy with organizational members (colleges)	55
		. Relations with one's superior officer	56
		. Self-concept	57
		. Self-concept on luck	58

IV. FINDINGS

1. Determinants of Social Achievement and Their Causal Relationship

According to optimists, schooling plays the most important role in determining social achievement. But pessimists about the role of schooling consider family background more important than schooling, and those skeptics such as Jencks think luck also important besides schooling and family background.

To test the above contrasting theories, this study analyzes the effects of schooling, family background and individual characteristics on social achievement, and the causal relationship among these three factors.

The test results are presented in the following sections.

A. Determinants of Social Achievement

Here we analyze the influence of schooling, family background and individual characteristics on social achievement, and the relative importance among them. The result of the analysis is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics.

Factor	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Schooling	.408	.167		.408	.324
Personal traits	.448	.201	.034	.327	.186
Family	.464	.216	.015	.182	.124

Table 3 shows that the multiple correlation between social achievement and associated three factors is .464, and the variation in social achievement explained by the three factors is 21.6%. And with the relative contribution of three factors to determining social achievement concerned, schooling is the most important factor followed by individual characteristics.

Of course the variance explained by each factor as is given in Table 3 cannot be said to be independent effects, because there might be interrelationships among the three factors, that is, schooling, family background, individual characteristics.

Then, what should be the measure of variance of the social achievement explained by each factor independently?

Table 4 shows the independent effects of three factors.

Table 4. Circulatory Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics.

Factor	R	R^2	R^2 change
Schooling	.408	.167	
Personal traits	.448	.201	.034
Family	.464	.216	.015
Schooling	.408	.167	
Family	.432	.186	.020
Personal traits	.464	.216	.029
Family	.182	.033	
Schooling	.432	.186	.153
Personal traits	.464	.216	.029
Family	.182	.033	
Personal traits	.355	.126	.093
Schooling	.464	.216	.089
Personal traits	.327	.107	
Schooling	.448	.201	.094
Family	.464	.216	.015
Personal traits	.327	.107	
Family	.355	.126	.020
Schooling	.464	.216	.089

As given in Table 4, the independent effect of schooling is 8.9%, and those of individual characteristics and family background are 2.9%, 1.5% respectively.

Thus again it is proved that schooling is the most important that determine the social achievement.

By the way, we have to say that the total variance (21.6%) of the social achievement explained by the three factors is considerably short of exhausting the variation in social achievement. This seems to be resulted from the two following reasons.

First, every factors, that is, social achievement, schooling, family background, individual characteristics are composed of the variables in which no uni-dimensional content exists and the inter-relationships are not so strong as to be combined together into one factor.

For example, as we suggested earlier the dependent variable ,social achievement, is composed of the objective indicators such as occupation, economic status on the one hand, and the subjective indicators such as classconsciousness, life satisfaction, etc. on the other hand. Here the objective indicators and the subjective indicators are not uni-dimensional or highly correlated.

This first reason is justified by the result in which the total variance of social achievement explained by all component variables of schooling, family background, individual characteristics increases than that explained by the three combined factors.

Secondly, social achievement is also influenced by age as well as schooling, family background, individual characteristics. To put it another way, under the specific age group the explanatory power of the three factors will be increased or decreased. So we have to control the age factor to analyze the pure effects of the three factors on social achievement.

To do this we classified age into four groups first, and then in every group we produced the correlation between social achievement

and the three factors, and the multiple regression of social achievement on the three factors. The results are given in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5. Correlation of Social Achievement with Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics by Age.

Factor	Age				Total
	25 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	
Schooling	.273	.454	.394	.489	.386
Personal traits	.161	.364	.292	.248	.278
Family	.126	.127	.238	.248	.137

Table 5 shows that in the age of over 36 the degree of correlation between social achievement and schooling is higher than that measured without age controlled for. However, the correlation of individual characteristics to social achievement is increasing only for those aged 36-45 and 46-55.

Next, we analyzed the effects of schooling, individual characteristics, family background on social achievement through multiple regression analysis with age controlled for. The results are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Associated Factors by Age.

	Age 25 – 35				Age 36 – 45		
	R	R^2	ΔR^2		R	R^2	ΔR^2
Schooling	.273	.074		Schooling	.454	.206	
Personal traits	.246	.088	.014	Personal traits	.493	.243	.037
Family	.313	.098	.010	Family	.499	.249	.006

	Age 46 – 55				Age 56 – 65		
	R	R^2	ΔR^2		R	R^2	ΔR^2
Schooling	.394	.155		Schooling	.489	.239	
Personal traits	.429	.304	.049	Family	.603	.363	.124
Family	.451	.204	.000	Personal traits	.645	.417	.054

Table 6 presents that total effects and each effect of schooling, family background, individual characteristics are different from those produced without age controlled for.

First, the magnitude of total variance of social achievement explained by the three factors increases to more than 21.6% in the all but the age group of 25-35. Particulary, in the age group of 56-60 the total effects of schooling, family background, individual characteristics sharply increased and became the greatest among those in all age groups.

Secondly, each effect of schooling, family background, individual characteristics on social achievement is rising in all but the age group of 25-35, especially it is highest in the age group of 56-60.

Finally, the relative contribution of schooling, family background, individual characteristics to determining social achievement changed in the age group of over 56. Different from the three factors' contribution order that was produced without age controlled for and that in the other age groups, schooling is the most important, followed by family background and then individual characteristics. In other words, in the age group of over 56 the family background gives more effects on social achievement than individual characteristics. This means that in the age group of over 56 schooling, so called achievement force and family background, so called ascribed force are highly correlated and family background is more determinant to social

achievement than in other age groups.

Next we analyzed the effects of component variables of schooling, family background, individual characteristics respectively.

First, the effects of school related variables on social achievement is analyzed in Table 7.

Table 7. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Associated Factors

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.592	0.350		0.592	0.446
Quality of education	0.612	0.375	0.025	0.463	0.138
Schooling effect on occupation	0.618	0.382	0.007	0.236	0.092
Academic achievement	0.621	0.385	0.003	0.378	0.067
Physical facilities of school	0.622	0.387	0.002	0.170	0.048
Social assessment of school	0.623	0.389	0.002	0.393	0.056

Table 7 shows that the total variance of social achievement by all school related variables is 38.9%. And years of schooling is the most important to social achievement by explaining 35.0% of the variance of social achievement, to which quality of education adds 2.5%, the influence of education on occupation 0.7%, the school achievement 0.3%, physical facilities of school 0.2%, and social assessment of school 0.2%. These results tell us that social achievement is mostly determined by years of schooling and quality of education.

Secondly, the relationship between social achievement and family-related variables is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Family Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
SES of parents	0.225	0.051		0.225	0.163
SES of spouse's parents	0.255	0.065	0.014	0.151	0.118
Parents' emphasis on mobility	0.278	0.077	0.012	0.142	0.110
Community size	0.287	0.082	0.005	− 0.107	− 0.061
Social status of relatives	0.291	0.085	0.002	0.137	0.046
Occupational support of parents	0.293	0.086	0.001	0.083	0.039
Number of brothers	0.294	0.087	0.001	− 0.081	− 0.025

Table 8 shows that the total variance of social achievement explained by all family related variables is 8.7%. And among the all family related variables the parents' socio-economic status is the most influential (5.1%) to social achievement, followed by socio-economic status of spouse's parents and then parents' emphasis on upward mobility.

Finally, the influence of individual characteristics related variables on social achievement is analyzed in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Individual Characteristics Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Cognitive ability	0.217	0.047		0.217	0.157
Personal efforts	0.249	0.062	0.015	0.133	0.119
Self-concept	0.258	0.066	0.005	0.205	0.145
Human relationship	0.261	0.068	0.002	0.165	−0.089
Personality	0.262	0.068	0.000	0.188	0.019

Table 9 shows that the total variance of social achievement explained by all individual characteristics related variables is 6.8%, which is lower than that explained by schooling, family related variables. And amongst the individual characteristics variables, intellectual ability explains 4.7% of the variance of social achievement, to which personal efforts adds 1.5%, self-concept 0.5%, and human relationship 0.2%. Henceforth, the intellectual ability is identified as the most important factor followed by personal efforts.

Thus far the effects of schooling, family background, individual characteristics on social achievement have been analyzed. To summerize the results, the most important factors are years of schooling, quality of education. And the SES of parents or I.Q. personal efforts have indirect effects via education rather than direct effects on social achievement.

This interpretation is justified by the result from the multiple regression analysis of social achievement on the all component variables of schooling, family background, individual characteristics (see Table 10).

Table 10. Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Achievement on Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.596	0.355		0.596	0.418
Quality of education	0.615	0.378	0.023	0.470	0.082
Personal efforts	0.628	0.395	0.017	0.180	0.113
Social status of relatives	0.635	0.404	0.009	0.152	0.063
Self-concept	0.641	0.411	0.007	0.232	0.104
Academic achievement	0.645	0.416	0.005	0.388	0.086
Schooling effect on occupation	0.647	0.419	0.003	0.247	0.064
Social assessment of school	0.649	0.421	0.002	0.415	0.058
Spouse's family origin	0.650	0.422	0.001	0.171	0.042

Variables	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.651	0.424	0.001	0.129	0.036
Human relationship	0.652	0.425	0.001	0.168	−0.090
Cognitive ability	0.653	0.427	0.002	0.237	0.066
Physical facilities of school	0.654	0.428	0.001	0.176	−0.050
Residential area in growth period	0.655	0.429	0.001	−0.139	−0.042
Occupational support of relatives	0.655	0.430	0.000	0.089	0.022
Parents' SES	0.656	0.430	0.000	0.238	0.022
Personality	0.656	0.430	0.000	0.190	−0.078

Table 10 shows that all component variables of the three factors accounts for 43.0% of the variation in social achievement. And of 43.0%, years of schooling explains 35.5%, quality of education 2.3%, and personal efforts 1.7%.

Here again years of schooling and quality of education are presented as the important factors to social achievement.

On the other hand, the SES of parents which was previously analyzed to be the most influential predicts social achievement to a much smaller degree when the other variables are held constant. This result indicates that parents' SES indirectly influences on social achievement via schooling or personal characteristics related variables.

B. Causal Relationship Among Determinants of Social Achievement

In this section, we analyzed the causal relationship among determinants of social achievement by path analysis. It is possible to use path analysis because we can assume the determinants of social achievement are linear, unidirectional, additive, based on time sequence and empirical, logical grounds.

Under the above assumptions we can make the causal model in which family background directly and indirectly via individual characteristics, and schooling directly and indirectly via individual characteristics affects social achievement.

This path model was analyzed in the following Figure 6.

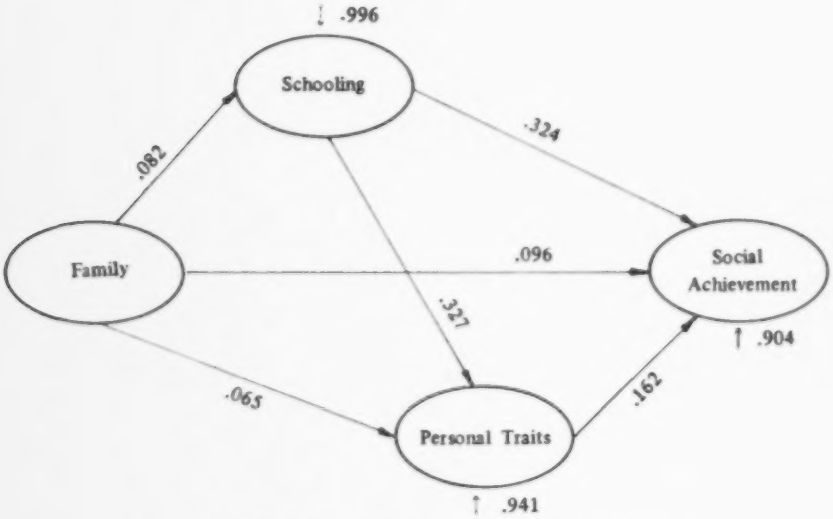

Figure 6. Path Analysis of Social Achievement Associated Factors

As shown in Figure 6, the path coefficient of schooling is .324 and that of individual factor .162, family factor .096. Thus schooling has the greatest direct effects on social achievement, followed by the individual characteristics. The family factor, however, affects social achievement not only directly but also indirectly via schooling or individual characteristics.

This is well presented in Table 11, in which the correlation of associated factors to social achievement is decomposed.

Table 11. Decomposition of Relationship Between Social Achievement and Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics.

	Total Covariance (A)	Causal relationship			Non-causal relationship (A−D)
		Direct (B)	Indirect (C)	Total (D)	
Family	.137	.096	.041	.137	–
Schooling	.386	.324	.053	.377	.009
Personal traits	.278	.162	–	.662	.118

As given in Table 11, schooling is the most important factor. The total covariance of schooling is decomposed into causally explained covariance .386 and non-causally explained covariance .009. Thus we can say that the direct effects of schooling is much greater than the indirect effects. And the effect of non-causal relationship between schooling and social achievement, which represents that of spurious relationship via the third factor influencing social achievement and schooling, is very small.

As the same token, the direct effect of family background on social achievement is analyzed to be larger than indirect effect. And the direct effect of personal characteristics on social achievement is more than the indirect effect and the non-causal effect

The major finding of the results thus far suggested is that schooling influences social achievement via family background to a large degree. This result is similar to that of the intergenerational occupational mobility study by Blau & Duncan which concludes that family background influences occupational attainment not directly but indirectly via education.

Schooling as a intervening variable between family background and social achievement, however, can not be so much emphasized as conflict theoriests like Bowles and Gintis, or Status group theoriests like Hurn, Coling, Mills do, claiming social inheritance is institutionalized

by the education in modern society.

Our finding that schooling acts not only as an intervening variable on social achievement is proved in the analysis of partial correlation between schooling, family background and social achievement. The results of partial correlations analysis reveals that the partial correlation coefficient of family factor with the effects of schooling and individual characteristics removed is .14. And the partial of schooling with the effects of family factor and individual characteristics removed is .32, which is larger than the partials of the other two factors.

These results indicate that schooling not only intervenes between family background and social achievement but also independently influences social achievement, which is also justified in the analysis of intergenerational mibility in occupational and socio-economic status.

2. Determinants of Sub-dimensions in Social Achievement

A. Determinants of Occupational Status

Occupational status is important not only in itself but also as an instrument of achieving the wealth or power, happiness, etc. (Jencks, 1972: 176). So occupation is to be considered important in study.

According to traditional liberalists, occupational status is determined by the years of education in the industrialized society (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Sewell et al, 1976). Whereas conflict theorists claim that occupational status is determined by the social inequality structure such as family background (Bowles & Gintis, 1973 ; Jencks, 1972; Collins, 1971).

Then, based on the above two contrasting view points, what are the important factors to occupational status attainment in Korean society?

In the following, we analyzed occupational status attainment process by multiple regression of occupational status attainment on schooling, family background, individual characteristics.

The results of the multiple regression analysis are presented as follows (see Table 12).

Table 12. Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Status on Schooling, Family Background, Individual Characteristics.

	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Schooling	0.349	0.122		0.349	0.294
Personal traits	0.380	0.144	0.022	0.256	0.153
Family	0.385	0.148	0.004	0.099	0.061

Table 12 shows that the multiple correlation between occupational status and schooling, family background, individual characteristics is .385. And the total variance of occupational status explained by schooling, family factor, individual characteristics is 14.8%.

Among the schooling, family factor, individual characteristics, schooling is the most important to occupational status attainment (coefficient of determination is 12.2%), followed by individual characteristics (2.2%) and then family factor (0.4%).

The total variance (14.8%) of occupational status explained by schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is less than that of social achievement (18.3%). But the relative importance of schooling to family factor or personal characteristics in explaining the occupational status remains the same as in explaining the social achievement.

As is noted above, the total variance of occupational status or social achievement explained by schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is somewhat small, which is due to the simple combination of component variables of each independent factor and to

the age factor not controlled for. As we analyzed earlier, the total variance of the social achievement explained by the related factors is rising with age factor held constant. This implies that the age factor influences social achievement independently.

So we analyzed the effects of schooling, family factor, personal characteristics on occupational status by holding age factor constant. The results are as follows (see Table 13, Table 14).

Table 13. Age Differences of Correlation between Occupational Status and Associated Factors

	Age				Total
	25 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	
Schooling	.230	.375	.423	.593	.349
Personal traits	.123	.323	.320	.244	.256
Family	.044	.068	.220	.361	.099

Table 13 presents the simple correlation between occupational status and the associated factors for different age groups. The result shows that the higher the age level, the greater the correlation between occupational status and schooling, family factor. This is especially apparent in the age group of over 56. In the age group of over 56, the correlation of schooling to occupational attainment ($r = .593$) and that of family factor to occupational attainment ($r = .361$) are increasing.

These results are also supported in the multiple regression analysis of occupational attainment on schooling, family factor, personal characteristics, which is given in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Age Differences of Multiple Correlation between Occupational Status and the Associated Factors.

Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2
Schooling	.230	.053	Schooling	.395	.156	Schooling	.423	.179	Schooling	.593	.351
Personal traits	.245	.060	Personal traits	.431	.186	Personal traits	.463	.214	Family	.698	.487
Family	.247	.061	Family	.432	.187	Family	.476	.227	Personal traits	.775	.600

Table 14 shows that the higher the age level, the greater the total variance of occupational achievement explained by the three associated factors. For those aged 25-35, the explained variance of occupational status is 6.1%, those aged 36-45, 18.7%, those aged 46-55, 22.7%, and those aged over 56, 60.0%.

The relative importance among schooling, family factor, personal characteristics remains about the same except for those aged over 56. For those aged over 56, schooling is the most important, followed by family factor and then individual characteristics.

And it is also noteworthy that the higher the age level, the greater the influences of schooling and family factor. For those aged 25-35 schooling explains 5.3% of variance of occupational status, those aged 36-45, 15.6%, those aged 46-55, 17.9%, and those aged over 56, 35.1%. These results tell us that schooling is closely associated with occupational status.

On the other hand it is also observed that the higher the age level, the greater the magnitude of variance of occupational status explained by family factor which is a ascribed force.

To sum up, the higher the age level the greater the expanatory power of the schooling factor, that is, the achievement factor and family background, the ascribed factor. This conclusion implicates that the higher the age level the more closely interrelated the achieve-

ment factor and the ascribed factor.

Anyway, schooling is the most influential factor on occupational attainment, which result is identical to that of Blau & Duncan's study (1967) and Sewell et al's (1976).

Next we analyzed the influence of component variables of each three factor on occupational status attainment. The result is given in Table 15, Table 16, Table 17.

First, the effects of and the relative importance among schooling related variables are shown in Table 16 below.

Table 15. Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Status on Schooling Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.591	0.350		0.591	0.447
Social assessment of school	0.607	0.368	0.019	0.427	0.120
Influence of education on occupation	0.612	0.375	0.006	0.201	0.064
Quality of education	0.615	0.378	0.004	0.440	0.069
Academic achievement	0.617	0.380	0.002	0.362	0.053
Physical facilities of school	0.617	0.381	0.000	0.220	0.013

Table 15 presents that the total variance of occupational status explained by the school related variables is 38.1%. Of 38.1%, years of schooling explains 35.6%, social evaluation of school additionally explains 1.9%, influence of school on occupation 0.6%, quality of education 0.4%, and school achievement level 0.2%.

Thus it is observed that occupational attainment is determined mostly by years of schooling and social assessment of school. This finding reflects upon the reality in which comparatively important factors to recruitment of personnel in various occupational status are years of schooling and school origin hierarchically classified.

Secondly, the effects of family related variables on occu-

pational attainment are presented in Table 16 below.

Table 16. Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Status on Family Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
SES of parents	0.177	0.032		0.177	0.146
SES of spouse's parents	0.196	0.038	0.007	0.107	0.085
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.209	0.044	0.005	0.097	0.073
Community size	0.219	0.048	0.004	0.096	0.069
Social status of relatives	0.219	0.048	0.000	0.059	0.015
Occupational support of parents	0.220	0.048	0.000	0.031	0.005
Number of brothers	0.220	0.048	0.0000	0.003	0.004

According to Table 16, the total variance of occupational status explained by the comparatively important family related variables among 14 variables is 4.8% which is very small.

Of 4.8%, 3.2% is explained by parents' socio-economic status which is measured by father's occupation, education and income, and 0.7% is additionally explained by SES of spouse's parents, 0.5% by parents' stress on upward social mobility.

In this result, it is important to note that the influence of family related variables on occupational status is much lower than that of school related variables on occupational status. Anyway, among the all family related variables the SES of parents and spouse's parents is relatively most influential on occupational attainment.

This finding, however, has some limits. Because some data on family related variables are obtained by the respondents who were required to remember the past but couldn't remember the specific past data. This problem makes the measures of intergenerational mobility and social achievement related variables inappropriate. Basically this problem is due to the methodological apporach in which variables are not longitudinally observed.

Thirdly, the influence of personal characteristics composed of 10 variables on occupational attainment is given in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Status on Personal Characteristics Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Cognitive ability	0.149	0.022		0.149	0.157
Personal efforts	0.181	0.033	0.011	0.111	0.102
Self-concept	0.187	0.035	0.002	0.140	0.143
Personality	0.202	0.041	0.006	0.088	0.137
Human relationship	0.202	0.041	0.000	0.112	0.015

As shown in Table 17, the total variance of occupational status explained by the personal characteristics related variables comparatively important is 4.1%, which is very low. Of 4.1%, 2.2% is explained by intellectual ability, 1.1% by personal efforts, 0.2% by self-concept and 0.6% by personality.

To summerize, we can conclude that the relatively important variables influencing on occupational attainment are years of schooling, social assessment of school (school related variables), socio-economic status of parents and spouse's parents (family related variables), and intellectual ability and personal efforts (personal characteristics related variables).

The relative importance among these variables, however, is somewhat changed when we regressioned occupational status on all related variables of three factors together.

The result of multiple regression analysis is presented in Table 18.

Table 18. Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Status on School, Family, Personal Characteristics Related Variables.

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.597	0.356		0.597	0.423
Quality of education	0.609	0.371	0.015	0.446	0.076
Social assessment of school	0.613	0.376	0.006	0.421	0.095
Personal efforts	0.617	0.381	0.005	0.115	0.064
Academic achievement	0.618	0.382	0.001	0.351	0.043
Schooling effect on occupation	0.619	0.383	0.001	0.189	0.038
Personality	0.620	0.384	0.001	0.081	−0.087
Human relationship	0.620	0.385	0.001	0.097	0.029
Spouse's family origin	0.621	0.385	0.000	0.100	0.024
Number of brothers	0.621	0.386	0.001	0.007	0.024
Social status of relatives	0.621	0.386	0.000	0.075	0.024
Occupational support of relatives	0.622	0.386	0.000	0.031	−0.022

From the above result, we note that the total effect of all variables of the three factors is 38.7%, which is sharply increasing than that (14.8%) of the three combined factors.

This finding reveals that related variables previously combined together into three factors are different from each other so that the combination effects decrease.

Among the relatively important variables years of schooling gives most important effect (35.6%) on occupational status attainment, followed by quality of education (1.5%), social assessment of school (0.6%), and personal efforts (0.5%).

On the other hand, father's socio-economic status and intellectual ability, which were presented as the most important variables in family factor and personal characteristics respectively, explains very little variance of the occupational status. This implies that father's SES and intellectual ability give indirect effects on occupational attainment via other variables.

Now we turn to the causal relationship between occupational status and associated factors. Previously in the causal analysis of social achievement we proved that schooling is the most important to social achievement, whereas family factor influences social achievement indirectly via schooling. In the following we attempted to know whether these causal relationship is also applicable to occupational status attainment. Here the component variables of each factor are not totally combined together, but we selected representative variables from each factor; years of schooling from schooling, father's occupation and education from family factor, cognitive ability from personal characteristics.

And we supposed the causal relationship between these variables and occupational status as follows. That is, cognitive ability influences occupational status not directly but indirectly via years of schooling. This route of cognitive ability to occupational status is different from that lead to social achievement. Considering the effect of cognitive ability seperately from that of personal characteristics, it acts before schooling, not after schooling as in the case of other individual characteristics such as personal effort or human relationship do.

Thus the causal relationship between occupational status and several associates variables is analyzed by path analysis given in Figure 7.

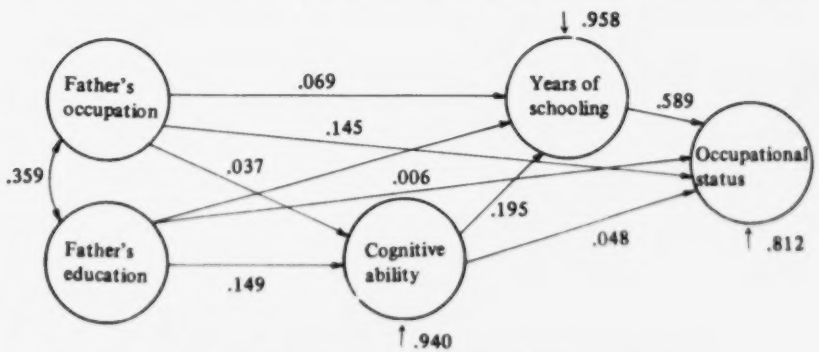

Figure 7. Path Analysis with Occupational Status Associated Variables.

Figure 7 shown that years of education is the most important determinant of occupational status (p = .589), followed by cognitive ability (p = .048) and then father's education (p = .006) father's occupation (p = .005).

And we decomposed the total effects of each variable into causal effect including direct causal effect and indirect effect, and non-causal effect. (see Table 19).

Table 19. Decomposition of the Effects of Occupational Status Associated Variables.

	Total Covariance (A)	Causal relationship			Non-causal Relationship (A-D)
		Direct (B)	Indirect (C)	Total (D)	
Father's occupation	.094	.005	.042	.047	.047
Father's education	.134	.006	.103	.109	.025
Years of schooling	.602	.589	–	.589	.013
IQ	.182	.048	.115	.163	.019

As is presented in Table 19, the most important variable directly influencing occupational status is years of schooling (p = 0.589) and that indirectly influencing occupational status is cognitive ability (p = .115).

And each variable has non-causal relationship as well as causal relationship with occupational status. Non-causal relationship means the correalation between two variables which are both influenced by the third variable. From the above Table 19, it is observed that the greatest measure of non-causal relationship is seen in the case of father's occupation (p = .047), and next is in father's education (p = .025).

Among the paths which comprises indirect effects, the most important path to occupational attainment is father's education → son's education → son's present occupation (p = .085). Although father's occupation also importantly influences on son's occupational attainment

via son's education (p = .041), father's education is more important to son's occupational attainment than father's occupation.

These results are a little different from that of Jencks' study (1972) in which the same causal model is used.

First, though both our study and Jencks' showed that the most important variable to determine the son's occupation is son's education, the magnitude of determination coefficient is different. In Jencks' study the path coefficient of son's education (p = .504) is smaller than that in our study (p = .589). This implicates that son's education plays more important role in our present society than in America.

Secondly, the most important determinant of son's education in our study is cognitive ability (p = .195), followed by father's education (p = .145) and then father's occupation (p = .069). But in Jencks' study the most important variable is cognitive ability (p = .452), followed by father's occupation (p = .255), and then father's education (p = .107). In both study, cognitive ability is the most important to determine occupational status but the magnitude of the influence of cognitive ability on occupational status in Jencks' study is much higher than that in our study. And in our study the father's education is more important to son's occupational status attainment than father's occupation.

Finally, the most important path including indirect effects in our study is different from that in Jencks' study. In our study the path of father's education → son's education → son's present occupation is the most important (p = .085), whereas in Jencks' study that of father's occupation → son's cognitive ability → son's education → son's present occupation is the most important (p = .052).

In light of these results we can conclude that father's education plays more important role to determine son's education and occupation than father's occupation in our society, while in America the reverse is ture.

2. *Determinants of Economic Status*

Economic status is one of the most important dimensions of social achievement, which is regarded as the only criterion of classifying social class by the radicalists such as Marx. But in modern industrial societies many theoriets classify social class by muliti-dimensions, one of which is the economic status measured by income or wealth.

In this study economic status is measured by income and wealth. Income is measured by classifying monthly income into 8 stages, from below 100 thousand to above 960 thousand and wealth by ownership of cultural elements. These two measures' average score is used as economic status score.

First the influence of schooling, family factor, individual characteristics on economic status and the relative importance among these three independent factors are shown in Table 20.

Table 20. Multiple Regressions Analysis of Economic Status on Schooling, Family Factor, Individual Characteristics

Factor	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Schooling	0.268	0.072		0.268	0.238
Family	0.279	0.078	0.006	0.097	0.071
Personal traits	0.288	0.083	0.005	0.161	0.075

Table 20 shows that the variation in economic status explained by schooling, family factor, individual characteristics is 8.3% and multiple correlation is .288. These two measures are much lower than those in social achievement and the other dimension of social achievement, which is partly explained by the fact that economic status attainment is determined by the other variables such as luck which

Jencks regarded as one of the most important variable to determine income in America.

Now we turn to the relative importance between schooling, family factor, personal characteristics.

From the above Table 20, it is observed that schooling (R^2 = 7.2%) is the most important factor followed by the family factor (R^2 = 0.6%) and then personal characteristics (R^2 = 0.5%).

The results analyzed thus far, however, are produced without the age factor held constant. It would be possible to think that age affects the relationship between the economic status and schooling, family factor, personal characteristics.

So with the age factor controlled for, we analyzed the influence of schooling, family factor, personal characteristics on economic status, and the relative importance among three factors.

First we classified the aged into 4 groups, that is, 25-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65.

With the age factor held constant, the simple correlation between economic status and schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is presented as follows (see Table 21).

Table 21. Age Differences in Correlation of Economic Status Associated Factors.

Factor	Age				Total
	25 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	
Schooling	.161	.374	.356	.512	.268
Family	.108	.001	.221	.017	.097
Personal traits	.031	.264	.302	.388	.161

From the above results, we can notice that the correlation of schooling (.268) is higher than that of the other two factors in all age groups. Especially the correlation of schooling (.512) in the age

group of over 56 is very high.

And the next important factor is personal characteristics of which the correlation is sharply rising in all age groups except 25-35.

In comparison with the other age groups, the correlation between economic status and schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is much smaller in the age group of 25-35. This result is probably due to the fact that those aged 25-35 didn't establish regular job or have less specialized occupation than the older aged groups.

The age differences of the influence of schooling, family, and personal characteristics on economic status, and the relative importance among three factors is shown in Table 22.

Table 22. Age Differences of the Influence of the Associated Factors on Economic Status

Age 25 – 35			Age 36 – 45			Age 46 – 55			Age 56 – 65		
Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2
Schooling	.161	.026	Schooling	.374	.140	Schooling	.306	.127	Schooling	.512	.262
Family	.200	.036	Personal traits	.392	.154	Personal traits	.405	.164	Personal traits	.619	.383
Personal traits	.200	.036	Family	.394	.155	Family	.424	.180	Family	.628	.394

Similar to the results given in Table 21, the influence of schooling is the strongest among three factors and its strength is increasing as the age level becomes high. Followed by schooling, personal characteristics explains more variance than family factor except for those aged 25-35.

To sum up, it is very important to note that the variance explained by three independent factors with age controlled is increasing, and the relative importance changed into schooling, followed by individual characteristics and then family in the all age groups except 25-35.

This result reveals that by age the important factor for economic status attainment is different and the influence of achievement force on economic status is increasing as age goes high.

To analyze the influence of each independent factor in detail, we regressioned the economic status on the component variables of each factor. The result of multiple regression analysis is given in Table 23.

Table 23. Multiple Regression Analysis of Economic Status on Schooling Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.513	0.263		0.513	0.401
Social assessment of school	0.532	0.283	0.020	0.389	0.137
Physical facilities of school	0.535	0.286	0.003	0.222	0.047
Schooling effect on occupation	0.537	0.288	0.002	0.161	0.045
Quality of education	0.538	0.290	0.001	0.377	0.052
Academic achievement	0.539	0.290	0.000	0.264	0.026

Table 23 shows that the total variance of economic status explained by component variables is 29.0% and years of schooling is the most important, followed by the social assessment of school, and the physical facilities of school, etc. To put it another way, the more the years of schooling and the higher the social assessment of school, the higher the economic status.

Next we turn to the family related variables (see Table 24).

Table 24. Multiple Regression Analysis of Economic Status on Family Related Component Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
SES of spouse's parents	0.187	0.035		0.187	0.165
SES of parents	0.247	0.061	0.026	0.186	0.128
Community size in growth period	0.281	0.079	0.018	−0.165	−0.129
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.298	0.089	0.010	0.124	0.103
Number of brothers	0.300	0.090	0.001	−0.042	−0.035
Occupational support of parents	0.300	0.090	0.000	0.018	0.013

As given in Table 24 the total variance of economic status explained by the all family related variables is 9.0%. Of 9.0%, the status of spouse's parents explaines 3.5% and father's socio-economic status adds 2.6%, the community size 1.8%, parents' stress on upward mobility 1.0%, number of brothers 0.1%, etc. Here the community size correlates with economic status in reversed direction. That is, those who have grown in the town or rural community achieves higher economic status than those grown in Seoul or other large city.

Finally the multiple regression analysis of economic status on personal characteristics related variables is presented below (Table 25).

Table 25. Multiple Regression Analysis of Economic Status on Personal Characteristics Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Personal efforts	0.142	0.020		0.142	0.137
Cognitive ability	0.176	0.031	0.011	0.112	0.142
Personality	0.182	0.033	0.002	0.058	−0.098
Self-concept	0.188	0.035	0.002	0.094	0.106
Human relationship	0.190	0.036	0.001	0.066	0.053

According to Table 25, the total explained variance of economic status is 3.6%, of which individual efforts explaines 2.0% and cognitive ability additionally explaines 1.1%, personality 0.2%, self-concept 0.2%, human relationship 0.1%.

So the most of the influence of personal characteristics should be attributed to personal efforts and cognitive ability.

Thus far the effects of component variables of each factor on economic status have been analyzed. But the relative importance and the relationship between all component variables of three factors are not analyzed. The result of this analysis is given below.

First the multiple regression analysis of economic status on all component variables is presented in Table 26.

Table 26. Multiple Regression Analysis of Economic Status on All Component Variables of Schooling, Family, Personal Characteristics

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.507	0.257		0.507	0.383
Social assessmnt of school	0.525	0.276	0.018	0.387	0.125
Personal efforts	0.540	0.292	0.016	0.164	0.114
Residential area in growth period	0.547	0.299	0.007	−0.174	−0.072
SES of spouse's parents	0.552	0.305	0.006	0.184	0.082
Personality	0.554	0.307	0.002	0.050	−0.097
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.556	0.309	0.002	0.105	0.045
Cognitive ability	0.557	0.310	0.002	0.111	0.051
Number of brothers	0.558	0.311	0.001	−0.054	−0.037
Physical facilities of school	0.559	0.312	0.001	0.218	0.031
Social status of relatives	0.559	0.313	0.001	0.088	0.031
Parents' SES	0.559	0.313	0.000	0.160	−0.019
Quality of education	0.560	0.313	0.000	0.369	−0.026
Self-concept	0.560	0.313	0.000	0.093	0.048
Human relationship	0.560	0.314	0.000	0.054	−0.045
Occupational support of relatives	0.560	0.314	0.000	0.036	−0.009
Schooling effect on occupation	0.560	0.314	0.000	0.146	0.006
Academic achievement	0.560	0.314	0.000	0.259	−0.006

Table 26 shows that the total explained variance of economic status is 31.4%, which is much greater than that of combined factors, that is, schooling, family factor, personal characteristics.

Of 31.4%, years of schooling explaines 25.7% and the social assessment of school adds 1.8%, personal efforts 1.6%, etc.

Thus economic status is determined mostly by years of schooling.

Next, we analyzed the causal relationship among economic status and the important associated variables, that is, years of schooling, cognitive ability, father's occupation, father's education.

And then we compared the results with that of Jencks' study by using Jencks' model. The model analyzed by path analysis is presented in Figure 8.

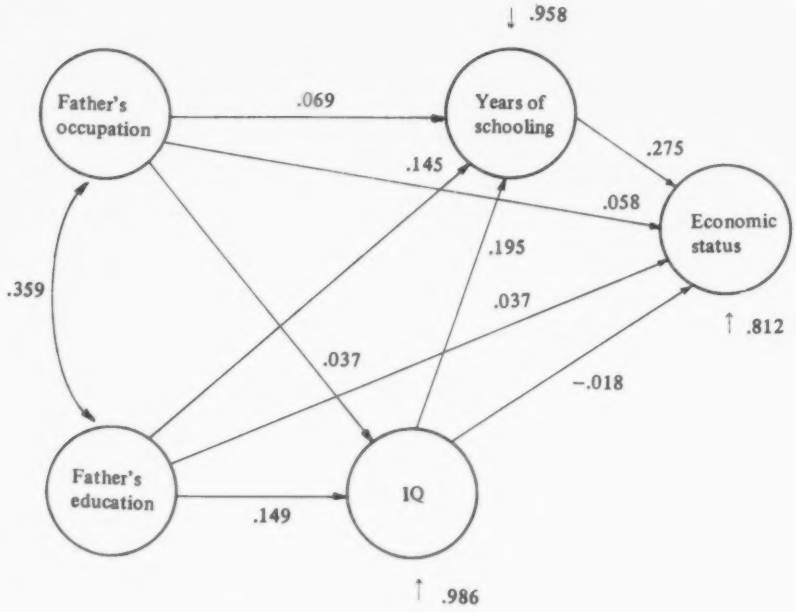

Figure 8. Path Analysis with Economic Status Associated Variables

Figure 8 shows that son's education gives the strongest direct effect on economic status attainment. The direct effect of son's education is p = .275, which is greater than that of father's occupation. (p = .058), education (p = .037), son's I.Q. (p = −.018).

Father's occupation, father's education and son's I.Q. not only influence directly but also indirectly on economic status. Firstly father's occupation effects economic status indirectly via son's education, of which route the path coefficient is .019. And father's occupation also affects economic status via I.Q. only (p = −.007) or I. Q. and son's education (p = .002).

Secondly father's education affects economic status indirectly via son's education (p = .048), or via I.Q. (−.003), or via I.Q. and education (.008).

Finally son's I.Q. affects economic status directly (−.018) as well as indirectly via son's education.

The decomposition of effects thus presented is summerized in Table 27 below.

Table 27. Decomposition of Correlation between Economic Status and the Associated Factors

	Total Covariance (A)	Causal Relationship			Non-causal Relationship (A−D)
		Direct (B)	Indirect (C)	Total (D)	
Father's occupation	.162	.058	.014	.072	.090
Father's education	.183	.037	.045	.082	.101
I. Q.	.112	.018	.054	.036	.076
Years of schooling	.513	.275	–	.275	.238

Table 27 presents the decomposition of the correlation between economic status and each associated variables into causal relationship and non-causal relationship first, and then the causal

relationship broken down into direct and indirect relationship.

From this result it is observed that the strongest causal relationship with economic status is that of son's education ($p = .275$), followed by that of father's education ($p = .183$).

Father's education influences son's economic status not only directly but also indirectly via son's education or I.Q. And of the total correlation (.183), the non-causal effect of father's education is .101.

The correlation of father's occupation with son's economic status is divided into causal relationship (.072) and non-causal relationship (.090). And of the causal relationship the magnitude of direct relationship is higher than that of indirect relationship.

Finally in the case of son's I.Q. the total correlation is .112 of which .036 is causal effect and .076 is non-causal. And the causal effect is broken down into direct effect (−.018) and indirect effect via son's education (.054).

To sum up, son's education causally affects economic status more strongly than any other variables. And among the other variables, father's education and son's I.Q. affects economic status indirectly via son's education and I.Q. or son's education respectively, whereas father's occupation gives direct effects on economic status more than indirect effects via son's education or I.Q.

These results are contradictory to that of other studies about economic status attainment process. According to Jencks' (1972), there is no significant correlation between income and education or cognitive ability, father's occupation, father's education. And Bowles & Gintis (1973) concludes that family background is the most important to determine the socio-economic status, and education intervenes as a transmitter of family background to social status attainment.

But the results of our study shows that the direct effect of son's education is the most important to social status attainment, and father's occupation or education affects little on economic status

directly or indirectly.

So our study justifies the optimistic theoriests who consider education contributing greatly to economic status attainment.

C. Determinants of Social Class Consciousness

Class consciousness means the sense of belonging to one social class. In our study social classes are classified into 5 groups composed of high, upper middle, middle, lower middle, low class.

To see the influence of schooling, family factor, personal characteristics and the relative importance among these three factors, we analyzed the correlation and multiple regression of class consiciousness (see Table 28).

Table 28. Multiple Regression Analysis of Class Consciousness on Schooling, Family, Personal Characteristics

Factor	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Schooling	0.365	0.133		0.365	0.309
Personal traits	0.393	0.155	0.022	0.260	0.150
Family	0.400	0.160	0.006	0.115	0.076

The multiple correlation of schooling, family, personal characteristics with class consciousness is .400. And the total explained variance of class consciousness is 16.0% of which 13.3% is explained by schooling and personal characteristics (2.2%), family factor (0.6%). So the most important factor to class consciousness is said to be schooling, followed by personal characteristics and then family factor.

We can say that the multiple correlation and total explained variance presented above is very small.

This result is mainly due to the combination of different component variables together into one factor on the one hand and to the influence of age factor which is not controlled for in this analysis on the other hand. So we now turn to the analysis of the effects of three factors with age factor held constant at first and then that of the effects and relative importance of component variables of each factor.

First, the simple correlation and multiple correlation between class consicousness and schooling, family factor, personal characteristics with the age factor controlled for are shown in Table 29, Table 30.

Table 29. Correlation between Class Consciousness and the Associated Factors

Factor	Age				Total
	25 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	
Schooling	.263	.440	.348	.515	.365
Personal traits	.131	.294	.331	.274	.260
Family	.078	.109	.261	.354	.115

From Table 29, it is revealed that the correlation of schooling to class consciousness is highest in all age groups. And the correlation of personal characteristics is higher than that of family factor in all but the age group of over 56.

The correlation of schooling with class consiciousness is greatest in the age group of over 56, followed by that of 36-45, whereas the correlation of individual characteristics is greatest in the age group of 46-55. And in the case of family factor the higher the age level, the greater the correlation of family background to class consciousness.

The other important thing to note is that in the age group of 25-35 the correlation of three factors to class consciousness is comparatively small. This is probably due to the fact that those aged 25-35 didn't fully establish their social positions and formulate class consciousness.

The following Table 30 shows the multiple regression analysis of class consciousness on schooling, family, individual characteristics by age.

Table 30. Multiple Regression of Class Consciousness by Age

Age 25 – 35			Age 36 – 45			Age 46 – 55			Age 56 – 65		
Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2
Schooling	.263	.069	Schooling	.440	.193	Schooling	.348	.121	Schooling	.515	.265
Personal traits	.277	.076	Personal traits	.456	.208	Personal traits	.415	.172	Personal traits	.642	.412
Family	.283	.080	Family	.461	.213	Family	.447	.200	Family	.725	.526

From the above table, we can easily notice that in the age group of over 56 the multiple correlation (.725) and the total explained variance (52.6%) are larger than those in any other age groups. And in the age group of 25-35 the multiple correlation is .283 and the total explained variance 8.0%.

The relative importance of three factors to the formation of class consciousness is somewhat different by age. In all age groups except over 56, schooling factor is the most important to the formation of class consciousness, followed by the personal characteristics and then family background.

But in the age group of over 56, the schooling is followed by the asribed force, that is, family background, and then personal

characteristics.

Next we analyzed the effects of component variables of each factor on class consciousness in detail.

First, the effects of schooling related component variables on class consciousness are given in Table 31.

Table 31. Multiple Regression of Class Consciousness on Schooling Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.571	0.326		0.571	0.423
Social assessment of school	0.592	0.351	0.025	0.439	0.157
Schooling effect on occupation	0.598	0.357	0.007	0.205	0.074
Quality of education	0.600	0.360	0.002	0.433	0.055
Physical facilities of school	0.600	0.360	0.001	0.225	0.029
Academic achievement	0.600	0.361	0.000	0.324	0.013

Table 31 shows that the most explanatory variable among schooling related variables is years of education which explaines 32.6% of the total explained variance (36.1%) of class consciousness. And next important variable is the social assessment of school which explaines 2.5%. So the most of the effects of the school factor on class consciousness comes from that of years of schooling and the social assessment of school.

Secondly, the effects of personal characteristics related component variables on class consciousness is analyzed as follows (see Table 32).

Table 32. Multiple Regression of Class Consciousness of Personal Characteristics Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Cognitive ability	0.209	0.044		0.209	0.208
Personal efforts	0.221	0.049	0.005	0.083	0.071
Self-concept	0.228	0.052	0.003	0.189	0.216
Human relationship	0.250	0.063	0.011	0.122	−0.187
Personality	0.251	0.063	0.000	0.152	−0.031

Table 32 shows that the variance of class consciousness explained by all the personal characteristics related variables amounts to 6.3%, which is very small.

Of the variance 6.3%, the major part is explained by cognitive ability (4.4%) and human relationship (1.1%).

Thirdly, the total and relative influence of family related variables are analyzed and the results are presented in Table 33.

Table 33. Multiple Regression of Family Related Variables on Class Consciousness

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
SES of parents	0.229	0.052		0.229	0.182
Community size	0.252	0.064	0.011	−0.143	0.101
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.270	0.073	0.009	0.125	0.098
SES of spouse's parents	0.279	0.078	0.005	0.100	0.070
Social status of relatives	0.281	0.079	0.001	0.117	0.039
Occupational support of parents	0.282	0.079	0.001	0.023	0.024
Number of brothers	0.282	0.080	0.002	0.024	0.016

According to Table 33, the total variance explained by all the family related variables is 8.0% of which father's socio-economic status explains 5.2% and community size 1.1%, parents' stress on upward social mobility 0.9%, etc.

To sum up the results given in Table 31, 32, 33, the relatively important variables are years of schooling, social assessment of school (schooling related variables), cognitive ability (personal characteristics related variable), and father's socio-economic status (family background related variable).

Finally we analyzed the total effects of all component variables of three factors and relative importance among them (see Table 34).

Table 34. Multiple Regression of Class Consciousness on Schooling, Family Factor, Personal Characteristics Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.574	0.329		0.574	0.418
Social assessment of school	0.595	0.354	0.025	0.441	0.142
Schooling effect on occupation	0.600	0.361	0.006	0.203	0.053
Cognitive ability	0.604	0.365	0.005	0.210	0.089
Parents' SES	0.607	0.368	0.003	0.237	0.044
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.608	0.370	0.002	0.127	0.047
Human relationship	0.610	0.372	0.002	0.120	−0.130
Self-concept	0.612	0.375	0.003	0.189	0.124
SES of relatives	0.614	0.377	0.002	0.123	0.055
Occupational support of relatives	0.615	0.378	0.002	0.025	−0.044
Quality of education	0.616	0.379	0.001	0.435	0.042
Number of brothers	0.616	0.380	0.000	−0.028	−0.019
Personal efforts	0.617	0.380	0.000	0.081	0.023
Physical facilities of school	0.617	0.381	0.000	0.221	0.018
Personality	0.617	0.381	0.000	0.147	−0.035
Spouse's family origin	0.617	0.381	0.000	0.103	−0.015
Community size in growth period	0.618	0.381	0.000	−0.138	−0.012

Table 34 represents that the total variance explained by all component variables of three factors is 38.1%, of which years of education explains 32.9%, social assessment of school 2.5%, influence of school on occupation, 0.6% etc.

From these results it is observed that the most important variable to the formation of class consciousness is years of schooling, followed by social achievement of school and then influence of school on occupation, cognitive ability, father's SES. So we can conclude that schooling related variables give greater effects on the formation of the class consciousness than family related and personal characteristics related variables.

D. Self-evaluation of Social Achievement

Self-evaluation of social achievement means to evaluate by oneself whether his life is successful or not. In this study this is measured by the ten point scale, in which 10 point indicates all hopes of life accomplished whereas 0 point being full of worry.

First we analyzed the total and relative influence of schooling, family factor, individual characteristics on self-assessment of social achievement (see Table 35).

Table 35. Multiple Regression of Self-Assessment of Social Achievement on Schooling, Family Factor, Individual Characteristics.

Factor	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Schooling	0.235	0.055		0.235	0.198
Personal traits	0.251	0.064	0.009	0.166	0.093
Family	0.263	0.069	0.005	0.098	0.074

As shown in Table 35, the multiple correlation of schooling, family factor, individual characteristics to self-assessment of social achievement is .263 and the total explained variance of self-assessment of social achievement is 6.9%.

Of 6.9%, 5.5% is explained by schooling and 0.9% by personal characteristics, 0.5% by family factor. Thus the self-assessment of social achievement is mostly influenced by schooling, followed by personal characteristics and then family factor.

This results are, however, modified when the age factor is controlled for. First the result of correlation between self-assessment of social achievement and the three factors, that is, schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is given in Table 36.

Table 36. Age Differences in Correlation of Schooling, Family Factor, Individual Characteristics to Self-assessment of Social Achievement.

Factor	Age				Total
	25 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	
Schooling	.144	.280	.242	.262	.235
Personal traits	.095	.244	.122	.046	.166
Family	.077	.134	.149	.244	.098

From these results, it is observed that in all age groups the correlation of schooling to self-assessment of social achievement is higher than that of the other two factors.

The correlation of personal characteristics and family background, however, is different by age group.

The correlation of personal characteristics is greater than that of family background for those aged below 45, whereas family background is greater than that of personal characteristics for those

aged over 46. Especially for those aged over 56 the correlation of family background almost equals that of schooling. And in this results too, we find that the correlations of schooling, individual characteristics, family background in the age group of 25-35 are much smaller than those of three factors without age controlled for. This finding can be interpreted in the way that those aged 25-35 are beginning their career so that they can't evaluate their social status as those aged over 35 do.

Next we analyzed the influence of schooling, family factor, individual characteristics on self-assessment of social achievement, and relative importance among the three factors.

Table 37. Multiple Regression Analysis of Self-Assessment of Social Achievement on the Associated Factors by Age

Age 25 – 35			Age 36 – 45			Age 46 – 55			Age 56 – 65		
Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2	Factor	R	R^2
Schooling	.144	.021	Schooling	.280	.079	Schooling	.242	.058	Schooling	.262	.068
Personal traits	.161	.026	Personal traits	.313	.098	Family	..262	.069	Family	.399	.160
Family	.173	.030	Family	.330	.109	Personal traits	.264	.070	Personal traits	.402	.162

The result presented in Table 37 is similar to that of Table 36. In all age groups the variance of self-assessment of social achievement explained by schooling is greater than that by family, individual characteristics. And in the age group of below 45, the influence of individual characteristics is higher than that of family background, whereas in the age group of over 46 the influence of family background is greater than that of individual characteristics.

Moreover in the age group of below 35, the variance (3%) of self-evaluation of social achievement explained by schooling, family factor, personal characteristics is much smaller than that in the other age groups. And in the age group of over 56 the explained variance (16.2%) of self evaluation of social achievement is greatest.

Now it is necessary to analyze the effects of component variables of each factor on self-evaluation of social achievement. (see Table 38, Table 39, Table 40).

Table 38. Multiple Regression of Self-Evaluation of Social Achievement on Schooling Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.348	0.121		0.348	0.246
Academic achievement	0.368	0.135	0.014	0.273	0.115
Schooling effect on occupation	0.380	0.144	0.009	0.179	0.094
Physical facilities of school	0.383	0.147	0.003	0.062	0.069
Quality of education	0.387	0.150	0.003	0.275	0.074

As shown in Table 38, the total explained variance is 15.0% of which years of schooling explaines mostly (12.1%) and academic achievement 0.9%, etc. Here the influence of quality of education has decreased compared to the correlation (.275) of it presented earlier in Table 44. This implicates that quality of education influences self-assessment of social achievement indirectly via the other variable such as years of schooling rather than directly.

To summerize, the effect of schooling on self-assessment of social achievement is mostly attributable to that of years of schooling and academic achievement level.

Next we analyzed the effects of individual characteristics

related variables such as cognitive ability, personal efforts, etc. on self-assessment of social achievement.

Table 39. Multiple Regression Analysis of Self-Assessment of Social Achievement on Individual Characteristics Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Cognitive ability	0.203	0.041		0.203	0.158
Personal efforts	0.251	0.063	0.022	0.159	0.146
Self-concept	0.256	0.066	0.003	0.186	0 0.142
Human relationship	0.263	0.069	0.004	0.142	−0.129
Personality	0.264	0.070	0.000	0.174	0.036

Table 39 shows that the total variance of self-evaluation of social achievement explained by all the personal characteristics related variables is 7.0%, of which cognitive ability explains 4.1% and personal efforts 2.2%, self-concept 0.3%, human relationship 0.4%. Thus we can conclude that cognitive ability and personal efforts give relatively great effects on self evaluation of social achievement among the personal characteristics related variables.

Finally the effects of family related variables on self-evaluation of social achievement are presented in Table 40 below.

Table 40. Multiple Regression Analysis of Self-Evaluation of Social Achievement on Family Background Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Parents' SES	0.154	0.024		0.154	0.099
SES of spouse's parents	0.193	0.037	0.013	0.135	0.111
Occupational support	0.209	0.044	0.007	0.103	0.067
Social status of relatives	0.218	0.048	0.004	0.128	0.260
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.225	0.051	0.003	0.080	0.056
Community size	0.228	0.052	0.001	−0.067	0.038
Number of brothers	0.228	0.052	0.000	0.013	0.009

From the above table, it is observed that the total explained variance is 5.2% of which father's SES and SES of spouse's father explaines most.

To see the results thus far analyzed, we can notice that the influence of academic career and academic achievement in school (schooling related variables), cognitive ability and personal efforts (personal characteristics related variables), SES of father and spouse's father (family background related variables) are important to explain self-evaluation of social achievement.

Then how is the relative importance among these variables? This is answered by the analysis of which the results are given in Table 41 below.

Table 41. Multiple Regression Analysis of Self-Evaluation of Social Achievement on Schooling, Family, Personal Characteristics Related Variables

Variable	R	R^2	R^2 change	r	β
Years of schooling	0.352	0.124		0.352	0.241
Personal efforts	0.375	0.140	0.016	0.152	0.110
Academic achievement	0.394	0.155	0.015	0.275	0.122
Social status of relatives	0.408	0.167	0.011	0.135	0.067
Cognitive ability	0.418	0.175	0.008	0.195	0.084
Physical facilities of school	0.422	0.178	0.004	0.060	0.082
Occupational support of relatives	0.427	0.182	0.004	0.100	0.057
Schooling effect on occupation	0.431	0.185	0.003	0.175	0.051
SES of spouse's parents	0.432	0.187	0.002	0.126	0.042
Parents' SES	0.434	0.188	0.001	0.165	0.031
Residential area in growth period	0.434	0.189	0.001	0.068	0.036
Number of brothers	0.435	0.189	0.000	0.013	0.021
Human relationship	0.435	0.190	0.000	0.136	0.085
Self-concept	0.137	0.191	0.001	0.181	0.059
Personality	0.437	0.191	0.000	0.166	0.032
Quality of education	0.438	0.192	0.000	0.275	0.032
Social assessment of school	0.438	0.192	0.001	0.212	0.026
Parents' emphasis on upward mobility	0.438	0.192	0.000	0.079	0.014

Table 41 shows that the total variance of self-evaluation of social achievement explained by the all component variables of schooling, family background, personal characteristics is 19.2%, which increased compared to that (6.9%) of three combined factors.

Of 19.2%, years of schooling explains 12.4%, personal efforts 1.6%, academic achievement 1.5%, status of relatives 1.1%, and cognitive

ability 0.8%, etc.

To sum up, the most important variable to explain the self-evaluation of social achievement is years of schooling, followed by personal efforts, and then academic achievement, status of relatives, cognitive ability. Here it can be noted that the direct effect of personal efforts on self evaluation is greater than that of academic achievement or cognitive ability, though the correlation of personal characteristics to self-evaluation of social achievement is lower than that of academic achievement or cognitive ability.

3. Trends in Inter-and Intragenerational Mobility in Korea

There are two types of social mobility, that is, intergenerational and intragenerational mobility.

In this study, we measured intergenerational mobility by that of occupation and socio-economic status, and intragenerational mobility by occupational mobility.

A. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility

To analyze occupational mobility, it is necessary to classify occupations first. Here we measured the occupational hierarchy of non-agricultural occupations by the seven occupational categories classified by Hong Du Sung (1982). On the other hand, agricultural occupations are categorized into 4 groups of tenant farmer, farmer, small farm owner, large farm owner, and then included into 4 non-agricultural occupational groups, that is, skilled worker, self-employed, clerical worker, professional respectively.

After measuring the occupation of father and son in this way, we crossed father's occupation and son's occupation to analyze the rate of intergenerational occupational mobility (see Table 42).

Table 42. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility (%)

Son's Occ. / Father's Occ.	Un-skilled	Skilled	Self-employed	Clerical	Pro-fessional	Manage-rial	Total (N)
No job	0.0	6.9	10.3	51.7	31.0	0.0	100 (29)
Unskilled	0.0	12.5	0.0	68.8	18.8	0.0	100 (16)
Skilled & tenant farmer	16.7	16.7	5.0	38.3	23.3	0.0	100 (60)
Self-employed & farmer	5.4	10.5	2.2	55.8	25.7	0.4	100 (276)
Clerical & small holder	2.0	5.9	2.9	61.8	25.5	2.0	100 (204)
Prefessional & largeholder	2.7	6.8	2.0	56.8	28.4	3.4	100 (148)
Manegerial	0.0	10.5	0.0	57.9	26.3	5.3	100 (19)

$x^2 = 60.55$, df = 30, $p < .001$, cc = .273

As shown in Table 42, there are many status stables for those whose father's occupation is clerical workers (61.8%) and professionals (28.4%). But there are many upward mobiles for those originated from skilled and unskilled workers or self-employeds.

For example, those whose fathers are unskilled workers upwardly moved into clerical workers (68.8%) and professionals (18.8%).

And those originated from skilled workers upwardly moved into clerical workers (38.3%) and professionals (23.3%).

However, of those originated from clerical workers only 25.5% upwardly moved to professionals and the others are non-mobiles.

And there are a few downward mobiles for those originated from professionals and managerials. Of those whose fathers are professionals, 28.4% are stables, and 56.8% downwardly moves into clerical

workers. And of those whose fathers are managerials, only 5.3% are stables, 57.9% are moved downwardly into clerical workers, 26.3% into professionals.

In light of these results, we can conclude that in our study there are high rates of intergenerational occupational mobility. The high rate of mobility, however, can not be identified as pure mobility or exchange mobility but as structural mobility.

Because while many of those originated from skilled and unskilled workers move upwardly into clerical or other non-manual workers, few of those whose fathers are clerical or other non-manual workers move downwardly into manual jobs or only move downwardly into other non-manual occupations.

So the most of the movements of manual workers to non-manual workers are structural mobility which occurs by the transformation of occupational structure. In our society the occupational structure has rapidly changed through social change and industrialization since liberation in 1945.

Next we analyzed 5 types of intergenerational occupational mobiles, that is, status stables, large degree upward mobiles, small degree upward mobiles, large degree downward mobiles, small degree downward mobiles, based on the direction and degree of mobility (see Table 43).

As a result, the most frequent type of mobiles is small degree upward mobiles (48.1%), followed by small degree downward mobiles (25.2%) and then stables (24.3%), large degree upward mobility (1.6%), large degree downward mobiles (0.8%).

To summerize, in our society the degree and rate of intergenerational occupational mobility are relatively great. But it is more due to the structural mobility rather than to the exchange mobility.

To put it another way, the fact that there are many mobiles in our society does not necessarily mean that occupational status is determined by the achievement force.

B. Intergenerational Socio-economic Mobility

Here socio-economic status is measured by the three indicators of occupation, education, income, and then classified into seven categories.

Table 43. Types of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility (%)

Father's Occ. \ Son's Occ.	Un-skilled	Skilled	Self-employed	Clerical	Pro-fessional	Manage-rial
No job	0.0	0.3	0.4	2.0	1.2	0.0
Unskilled	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.5	0.4	0.0
Skilled & tenant farmer	1.3	1.3	0.4	3.1	1.9	0.0
Self-employed & farmer	2.0	3.9	0.8	20.5	9.4	0.1
Clerical & smallholder	0.5	1.6	0.8	16.8	6.9	0.5
Prefessional & largeholder	0.5	1.3	0.4*	11.2	5.6	0.7
Managerial	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.5	0.7	0.1
						(100)

* Ⅰ : stables (184) Ⅱ : small downward (189)
Ⅲ : high downward (6) Ⅳ : small upward (345)
Ⅴ : high upward (27)

To analyze the intergenerational socio-economic mobility, we crossed the father's SES with son's SES (see Table 44).

Table 44. Intergenerational Socio-Economic Mobility

Father's SES \ Son's SES	Low	Upper low	Lower middle	Middle	Upper middle	High	Total (N)
Lower low	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100 (4)
Low	0.0	16.0	22.0	28.0	30.0	4.0	100 (50)
Upper low	0.6	13.0	13.0	29.6	36.1	7.7	100 (169)
Lower middle	1.0	6.9	13.2	37.5	36.5	4.9	100 (288)
Middle	0.0	1.6	8.5	39.7	46.6	3.7	100 (189)
Upper middle	0.0	2.2	8.8	29.7	45.1	14.3	100 (91)
High	0.0	0.0	0.0	41.2	47.1	11.8	100 (17)

$\chi^2 = 125.74$, df = 30, $p < .001$, cc = .37, gamma = .21

Table 44 shows that there are many status stables in upper middle class (45.1%) and middle class (39.7%), while upward mobility occurs in most of status groups.

First, those whose father's SES' are low all move upwardly into upper middle (30.0%) or middle (28.0%), lower middle (22.0%), and high class (4.0%).

Secondly, those originated from upper low move upwardly into upper middle (36.1%), middle (29.6%), lower middle (13.0%), and high class (7.7%), with stables 13.0%.

Thirdly, those whose family backgrounds are lower middle move upwardly into middle (37.5%), upper middle (36.5%), and high class (4.9%).

Fourthly, those originated from upper middle move upwardly tinto high class (44.3%), and downwardly into middle (29.7%), lower middle (8.8%), and upper low class (2.2%).

Finally, those whose father's SES' are high move downwardly into middle (41.2%), upper middle (47.1%) with status stables 11.8%.

From the above results, we can notice that those originated from lower middle or lower class almost move upwardly into middle or upper middle. And those whose father's SES' are upper middle or high move downwardly in a small degree and rate. This implicates that the high rate of upward mobility presented above is not due to circulation mobility but to structural mobility resulted from social structural change.

Now we turn to the analysis of the intergenerational SES mobility types based on the degree and direction of mobility (see Table 45).

Table 45. Types of Intergenerational SES Mobility

Father's SES \ Son's SES	Low	Upper low	Lower middle	Middle	Upper middle	High
Lower low	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Low	0.0	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.9	0.2
Upper low	0.1	2.7	2.7	6.2	7.5	1.6
Lower middle	0.4	2.5	4.7	13.4	13.0	1.7
Middle	0.0	0.4	2.0	9.3	0.9	0.9
Upper middle	0.0	0.2	1.0	3.3	5.1	1.6
High	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.0	0.2

* Ⅰ : stables (178)
Ⅱ : small downward (95)
Ⅲ : high downward (0)
Ⅳ : small upward (392)
Ⅴ : high upward (32)

As shown in Table 45, the rate of intergenerational socio-economic status stables is 22.0%, of small degree upward mobi es 62.2%, of large degree upward mobiles 3.9%, small degree downward mobiles 0.0%.

These results tell us that there has been occured much mobility, but this mobility is mainly due to structural mobility.

On the other hand, this result is the same as that of intergenerational occupational mobility. However, there are some differences between the rates of intergenerational occupational mobility and those of intergenerational SES mobility.

First, the rate (66.1%) of intergenerational upward mobility in SES is higher than that (49.7%) in occupational status. Moreover, those who upwardly moved into high or upper middle of SES are more

than those who upwardly moved into high or upper middle of occupational status.

These findings can be attributed to the fact that socio-economic status comprises education, and at present the general education level has been greatly risen in Korean society.

Secondly, with regards to mobility within middle and high class different results are found.

That is, those upwardly mobiles in middle and high SES are more than those in middle and high occupational status. And those downwardly mobiles in middle and high SES are less than those in middle and high occupational status. Besides, the rate of stables in middle and high SES is higher than that in middle and high occupational status.

These results tell us that many sons from middle and high SES origins inherit their father's SES or moves upwardly by the other ascribed force except occupation.

C. Intragenerational Occupational Mobility

To analyze the intragenerational occupational mobility, we crossed the first occupation and the present occupation. And here we measured occupation by the classification scheme of Hong Du Sung (1981), who classified occupations into 7 categories.

The result of intragenerational occupational mobility is as follows (see Table 46).

Table 46. Intragenerational Occupational Mobility

First Occ. \ Present Occ.	Un-skilled	Skilled	Self-employed	Clerical	Pro-fessional	Manage-rial	Total (N)
No job	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100(2)
Unskilled	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100(22)
Skilled & tenant farmer	9.0	83.6	3.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	100(67)
Self-employed & farmer farmer	10.6	10.6	34.9	25.6	2.3	0.0	100(43)
Clerical & smallholder	0.3	0.8	0.3	67.0	29.4	1.3	100(622)
Prefessional & largeholder	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.6	57.7	7.7	100(26)
Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	100(1)
Average	4.9	8.0	2.6	56.0	25.5	1.4	100.0
(N)	(30)	(69)	(20)	(445)	(200)	(11)	(703)

Table 46 shows that there are few intergenerational mobiles. For example, all of the unskilled workers maintain their first jobs and 83.6% of skilled workers, 67.0% of clerical workers, 57.7% of professionals also maintain their first jobs. However, 25.6% self-employeds move upwardly into clerical workers, 29.4% of professionals move downwardly into clerical workers.

These results represents that intragenerational occupational mobility occurs seperately between blue collar and white collar. Of course self-employeds are not the case so that 25.6% of them move upwardly into clerical workers whereas 10.6% move downwardly into

unskilled workers and another 10.6% move downwardly into skilled workers.

In the following, we analyzed in detail the patterns of intragenerational occupational mobility. The result of analysis is given in Table 47.

Table 47. Types of Intragenerational Occupational Mobility

First Occ. \ Present Occ.	Unskilled	Skilled	Self-employed	Clerical	Professional	Managerial
No job	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Unskilled	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Skilled & tenant farmer	0.8	7.2	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0
Self-employed & farmer	1.0	1.0	1.9	1.4	0.1	0.0
Clerical & smallholder	0.3	0.6	0.3	53.9	23.4	1.0
Professional & largen largeholder	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.9	0.3
Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1

100.0

* Ⅰ : stables (67.0)
Ⅱ : small downward (6.1)
Ⅲ : high downward (100.0)
Ⅳ : small upward (27.0)
Ⅴ : high upward (0.1)

From the above result, it is observed that the rate (68.0%) of status stables is the highest. And next frequent type is small degree upward mobility (27.0%), followed by small degree downward mobility (6.1%).

To sum up, we can conclude it is somewhat difficult to move from first occupational status to the higher occupational status, though there exists some mobility which is of small degree.

4. Results and Discussion

This chapter will summarize research findings as follows:

(1) Determinants of social achievement
(2) Causal relations among schoolings, family background and personal traits
(3) Determinants of subvariables, occupational status, economical status, ascribed class status and self-evaluation of social achievement, which are constructing social achievement
(4) Analyses on inter-and intragenerational mobility of occupational status and socio-economic status

Summary I : Determinants of Social Status

A. Determinants of Social Achievement and Interrelationships between Independent Variables

(1) More than 21% of the total variance in one's social achievement was explained by the combination effect of family, schooling and individual traits variables. In total sample, schooling is the most important variables and accounts for about 17% variance. Additionally about 4% of variance was explained by the combination effect of family and individual variables.
(2) In relative contribution to determining one's social achievement, schooling is a unique important variable, than individual traits followed by family factors.
(3) The total variance of predicting social achievement become low because of uncontrolling the respondent's age. When ages

are categorized into four groups such as aged 25-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, total variance affecting individual social achievement increased in the other three aged groups except the aged 25-35 group.

(4) Among four age groups, the age group of 56-65 showed the larger variance (about 42%) of social achievement explained by the combination variables compared to the other groups.

(5) In the age group of 56-65, family background is more important variable than individual traits variable in the effect on one's social achievement when the effect of schooling was excluded. Also the direct effect of schooling (24%) to social achievement is high in the older age group compared to younger age group.

(6) Among all variables, 'years of education' was identified as the most influencial variable in predicting one's social achievement (35%). Additionally, 'quality of education', 'father's education and occupation', 'cognitive ability and individual efforts' also explained much variance in one's social achievement compared with other variables.

(7) Analyzing the correlation between the educational attainment and social achievement into 'direct' and 'indirect' effects, the direct path accounts for 32% of the correlation of schooling to social achievement while the indirect path through individual traits contribute only 4%, most of correlation of schooling with social achievement comes from the direct effect. Otherwise, the direct effect of family background on social achievement is very low (1%) and indirect effect accounts for 4% of the correlations. The indirect effect of family background on social achievement is relatively large.

(8) It can be conformed that education is both an important independent factor in determining one's social achievement and a crucial transmitter between the influences of family and individual background on social achievement.

B. The Determinants of Occupational Status

(1) Schooling, family background and personal traits explained 14.8 percent of the variance of occupational status.

(2) The influencing order among variables in occupational status attainment was schooling, the personal traits such as intellectual ability and effects, and family background.

(3) In age group of 56 to 65, the explanatory power of those three variables toward occupational status was increasing remarkably. (60%).

(4) The subvariables of those three variables had higher explanatory power toward occupational status (38.7%).

(5) Educational level, social reputation toward schools, influential range of schooling toward occupations in schooling variable, socio-economic status of parents, socio-economic status of spouse's parents, and parents' emphasis on upward mobility in family background, and intellectual ability, personal efforts and self-concept in personal traits were important in the influence of those three variables toward occupational status.

The influencing order of the subvariables toward occupational status was educational level, educational quality, social reputation toward schools, and effort. The influence of intellectual ability and socio-economic status toward occupational status, excluding the influence of the other variables, was remarkably decreasing. Therefore, these two variables were considered giving indirect influence on occupational status.

(6) When analyzing the causal relations of educational level, father's occupation and IQ that were important variables in the influence toward occupational status, the path coefficient of educational level was the largest (.589), and father's occupations, father's educations, and IQ were indirectly influencing the occupational status through schoolings.

(7) Through the path analysis, this research found out that father's education → educational level → occupational status was a sigificant path. And father's years of schooling was the most important subvariable among family background related variables.

C. Determinants of Economic Status

(1) The explicative variance of schooling, family background and personal traits toward economic status was 8.3 percents.
(2) The variable that made the largest influence on economic status was schooling (7.2%). And the next was family background and the last personal traits as IQ or effort.
(3) As age increased, the explicative variance of those three variable toward economic status increased. Especially, such trends were remarkable in age group of 56 to 65 (39.4%). Excluding the age group of 25 to 35, the relative order to explain an economic status was schoolings, personal traits and family background.
(4) The subvariables of those three variables were explaining 34.1 percents of the whole variance in occupational status.
(5) As for the subvariables to determine the occupational status, educational level (26.3%), social reputation toward schools, and physical factors of schools in schoolings, socio-economic status of spouse's parents, SES of parents, rigional size in growth stage in family background, and effort, intellectual ability in personal traits could be regarded as important. The relative influential order of these subvariables toward economic status could be stated as educational level (25.7%), social reputation about schools, effort, residential region at growing stage and SES of spouse's parents.
(6) When analyzing the causal relations among the important variables such as fathers' occupation, fathers' education, intellectual ability and ducational level, the path directions were like father's

education→educational level→economic status. Also, there was a negative relation (−.18) between the direct influence of intellectual ability and economic status. Besides, non-causal relation of educational level and economic status was .238 and that of father's educational level and economic status was .101.

(7) The indirect influence of the subvariables toward economic status, excluding educational level, showed the path relation such as father's education → educational level → economic status (.045).

D. Determinants of Ascribed Class

(1) The schoolings, family background, and personal traits explained the 16 percents of the whole variance in ascribed class.

(2) The influential order of those three variables toward the ascribed class was schoolings the first, personal traits and family background the last.

(3) In all the age groups except the age group of 25 to 35, family background, schoolings and personal traits were being increased in the explicative variance of ascribed class. Those three variables in age group of 56 to 65 explained 52.6 percents of the whole variance in ascribed class.

(4) The subvariables of those three variables were explaining more than those three variables themselves. That is, the predicted variance by the former was 38.1 percents.

(5) The main subvariables predicting ascribed class were as follows. Educational level (32.6%), social reputation toward schools and influence of schools toward occupation in schooling variable, socio-economic status of parents (5.2%), regional size at growing stage and emphatic degree toward upward mobility in family background. And also, an intellectual ability (4.4%), effort and self-concept in personal traits variables.

(6) The influential order among the variables to predict the ascribed class was as follows. Educational level, social reputation toward schools, influence of schools toward occupation, intellectual ability, and SES of parents, etc.

E. Self-evaluation of Social Achievement

(1) Schoolings, family background and personal traits toward the self-evaluation of social achievement had the low predictive variance of 6.9 percents.

(2) The importance order of those three variables was as follows. Schoolings, personal traits and family background the last.

(3) In the age group of 56 to 65, the predicting variance of those three variables was increasing (16.2%). However, in the other age groups, the variance would be rather decreasing. Therefore, the researchers concluded that the influential degree of the variables was dependent upon the age.

(4) The subvariables of those three variables had the higher variance (19.2%) than those variables themselves (6.9%) in predicting the influence of the self-evaluation toward social achievement.

(5) The important subvariables among those three variables in self-evaluation toward social achievement were as follows. Educational level ((12.1%), student achievement, and the influence of schoolings toward occupation in schooling variables. An intellectual ability (4.1%), effort, self-concept and human relations in personal traits variables. Socio-economic status of parents (2.4%), SES of spouse's parents, and sponsored degree for occupation in family background variables.

(6) The affecting order among the subvariables in self-evaluation toward social achievement was as follows. Educational level was the largest and the next order the personal effort, student achievement, SES of kins, and intellectual ability the last. While

the socio-economic status of parents, controlling the other variables, was very low in predicting the self-evaluation of social achievement.

Summary II : Inter-and Intragenerational Social (Class) Mobility

A. Intergenerational Mobility of Occupational Status

(1) The occupational pattern that intergenerational mobility of occupational status did not occur-the case that father's and son's occupations were same-was the most cases (61.8%) in clerical workers.

(2) The upward mobility in son's occupational status occurred very vividly in cases of father's low occupational status-unskilled, skilled and self-employers. Son's occupations were presenting upward mobility of 68.8% to clerical class and of 8.3% to professional job in case of unskilled workers in father's occupation, of 38.3% to clerical workers, and of 23.3% to professional workers in case of the clerical workers in father's occupation and of 55.8% to clerical workers and of 25.7% professional workers in case of the self-employers in father's occupation.

(3) In case of professional and managerial workers in father's occupation, much downward mobility of son's occupational status occurred in this research. In case of professional workers, 56.8% in son's status moved downward to clerical occupation. In case of managerial workers, 57.9% to clerical workers and 26.3% to professional workers in son's occupational status moved downward.

(4) According to the results of analysis on the intergenerational occupational mobility patterns, it was observed that status stables are 24.3%, high degree upward mobiles 1.6%, small degree upward mobiles 48.1%, high degree downward mobiles 0.8%, and small

degree downward mobiles 25.2%.

B. Intragenerational Mobility in Socio-economic Status

(1) Relatively few of those with upper middle (45.1%) and middle (39.7%) class in socio-economic status origins moved.

(2) A number of those originated from middle, lower middle, upper low, low class in SES moved upward.
From the survey results, it was presented that those with low SES origins moved upward into upper middle (30.0%), middle (28.0%), lower middle (22.0%), and high (4.0%). And those with upper low SES origins moved upward into upper middle (36.1%), middle (29.6%), lower middle (13.0%), and high (7.7%). In addition, those with lower middle SES origins moved upward into middle (37.5%), upper middle (36.5%), and high (4.9%). And those with middle SES origins moved upward into upper middle (46.6%) and high (3.7%).

(3) In the case of those with upper middle and high SES origins, downward mobiles were a little more than mobiles of the other types. Concretely, those with upper middle SES origins moved downward into middle (29.7%), lower middle (8.8%), upper low (2.2%). And those with high SES origins moved downward into middle (41.2%) and upper middle (47.1%).

(4) Concerning intergenerational mobility in SES, status stables were 22.0%, large degree upward mobiles 3.9%, small degree upward mobiles 62.2%, large degree downward mobiles 0.0%, and small degree downward mobiles 10.8%.

C. Intragenerational Occupational Mobility

(1) There were few mobiles in most occupational groups. Especially, none of those unskilled workers moved and 83.6% of skilled

workers, 67.0% of clerical workers, 57.7% of professionals were stables.

(2) Those upward mobiles of clerical workers were 29.4%, which was higher than those of any other occupational group. And those upward mobiles of self-employers were 25.6%.

(3) In the case of professionals, 34.6% moved downward into clerical workers.

(4) From the analysis of mobility types of intergenerational occupational mobility, it was observed that status stables were 67.0%, large degree of upward mobiles 0.1%, small degree upward mobiles 27.0%, large degree downward mobiles 0.0%, small degree downward mobiles 6.1%.

D. Discussions

This research showed that there was a vivid upward mobility in intergenerational occupational and socio-economic status in Korea and schoolings played an decisive role on social achievement of the person. This result was the same conclusions with the assertions the optimistic reformists made in 1950' and 1960' and which was dominant in America at that time, including the research findings of Blau & Duncan. The researchers were judging that the reason that those researches in both countries were showing the same conclusions consisted in the similarity of the social backgrounds in both countries American societies of 50's and 60's and the present Korean society. That is, the American society of 50's and 60's was development era for the change of the industrial structure just as Korean society showed in the stage of industrialization. Therefore, as needs of service, clerical, professional and technical workers increased, the vivid upward mobility from low-status farmers occurred in Korea. Schooling credentials symbolizing the contest notion in the open society became an important reference for the occupational recruitment process toward the needs.

However, coming into the stable period in an economic growth since the end period of 1970's, the skeptic viewpoints on schooling effects toward economic growth and personal mobility in social status occurred strongly. Now, in this research, intergenerational mobility of occupational status was regarded as caused by the structural change of occupational society due to industrialization. In other words, many children from low occupational status such as farmers moved upward for the increase of the occupations over clerical jobs, and roles of schoolings were very large in the upward mobility process. The research conclusion that social mobility and roles of schoolings toward it were different according to the degree of industrialization was already uttered in the researches of Boudon (1973) and Havighurst (1958). Therefore, when the occupational structure became stable in the post period of industrialization, that social mobility and roles of schoolings toward it would be different from the present state could be easily guessed.

As the countries moved to the post industrial societies which are small in scale of change– Boudon (1973) was dealing with the post industrial societies as study objects–so the intergenerational social mobility would be extremely limited, and the schooling effect toward social status attainment would be suggested as lessened.

The periodic background and development stage of the societies should be considered rather than the assertion by optimism or pessimism, in order to get the conclusions about whether the present society is an open one vivid in social mobility among the members and how much contribution schoolings make to social status attainment.

Also, the direct influence of schoolings toward social achievement was larger than the indirect influence reflecting family background. This result is contracting to the assertion of the conflict theorists that school education is reflecting the inequality of social structure and reproducing it. Rather, it is the consensus with that

of the functionalist such as Blau & Duncan.

However, because of the unique educational climate and over-educational zeal in Korea, it can be hypothesized that the influence of SES of the family background to schoolings and social status attainment would be lessened. And possible that the influence of family background to schoolings would be relatively measured weak due to the problems that the distinction of social class was not clear and the unique subcultures by social class were not established yet.

Therefore, it is difficult to conclude the relations among schoolings, family background, and social achievement only according to the theoretical viewpoints–functional and conflict, thought to be necessary to discuss them under consideration of the special situation of the society.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Summary

Educational reforms for the expansion of educational opportunity as the world trends in the period of 1960 were mainly led by the liberalists with the standpoints of the optimism about schooling. However, the skeptic viewpoint on schoolings which was suggested since after the post period of 1970's has required the reinvestigations on the educational reforms, showing the doubts if the expansion of educational opportunity lessened the social ineuqality or not. Therefore, the problems on the contribution of schoolings toward social status attainment and class mobility and the degree of the contributions had the significant meaning as a required reference in deciding the direction of the national policy for the realization of social equality as well as a with-educational problems related to the evaluation of schooling effects.

Accordingly, the purpose of this research was to re-investigate the directions of the policy for the expansion of educational opportunity which intended to lessen the existing social inequality through the equal opportunity of education, by studying the role performance of schoolings toward social status attainment and intergenerational mobility of social status. To accomplish the purpose of the study, this research analyzed the influence and correlations of those variables constructing social achievement (e.g., occupational status, economic status, ascribed class consciousness and self-evaluation of social achievement, etc) and inter-and intra-generational mobility of occupational status and socio-economic status.

The data analyzed in this study were collected largely from the people living in the capital city of Seoul and in large cities in

Korea. The samples of the study were selected from employees classified as the lower, middle and upper strata in socio-economic status, aged between 25 and 65. Fifteen hundred respondents (500 in each stratum) were originally drawn through the stratifed random or representative sampling method from the different social and occupational sector. Class categories are derived from the classification categories developed by Dr. Doo-seung Hong. Women employees were excluded in our sample because the sampled number of women was too small.

The questionnaire, School and Social Achievement Survey developed by the research team, was classified as four areas, social achievement, family background, schoolings and personal traits. Social achievement was measured at five aspects such as occupational and economic status as objective indicators, and ascribed class consciousness, life satisfaction and self-evaluation of social achievement as subjective indicators. Socio-economic status, residential area at growing period, kins' status and number of brothers as structural factors, the emphasizing degree on upward mobility of parents as a process factor, etc. were measured for family background variable. In schooling variables physical and institutional factors of schools, educational quality, level of student achievement, level of credentials, social reputation toward schools and influence of schoolings toward occupation were measured. Intellectual ability, personality, self-concept and human relations as affective aspects, and personal efforts as a behavioral aspect were measured in personal traits variables.

The final sample consisted of 874 respondents and showed 58.2 percent return rate, and the questionnaire was administered by researchers or through mailing. The statistic methods applied in the study were simple correlation, multiple regression analysis, path analysis, partial correlation, canonical correlation and cross tabulation, the Subprograms of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

This research analyzed the materials in the two ways of

the whole ages and four aged groups (25–35, 36–45, 46–55, 56–65), considering the difference in determinants of social achievement and their relations. The analyzed results were as follows.

A. Determinants of Social Achievement and Their Causal Relations

(1) The influencing order to social achievement was schoolings the first, the next personal traits and family background the last. As ages of the respondents increased, the related variables to social achievement showed the increasing trends in predicting the variance. Especially. In case of the age group over 56, the family background and the school factor next were the largest influencing variable to social achievement.

Also, schooling years and educational quality in schooling variables, intellectual ability and personal efforts in personal traits variables, and socio-economic status of parents in family background variables made the larger influence on social achievement than the other subvariables did.

(2) In causal analysis among the related variables to social achievement, the largest influencing variable direct to social achievement was schooling factor, and personal traits variable the next. The influence of the family background variable in that of schooling variable to social achievement could be regarded inclusive, because the family background variable made an indirect influence on social achievement through schoolings and personal traits as well as a direct one on it. However, such a degree was found out very low. The significant path about the indirect influence of the family background to social achievement was father's education → son's schooling years → social achievement.

B. Determinants of the Subvariables to Social Achievement

(1) Excluding the economic status, the other subvariables of social achievement such as occupational status, ascribed class, life satisfaction and self-evaluation of social achievement were influenced most by schoolings, by personal traits the second and then by family background the last. But in economic status, those subvariables were influenced by ascribed factors so called family background rather than by personal traits.

(2) Concerning the common characteristics showed in all the subvariables, the explicative variance of schoolings, family background and personal traits toward social achievement mostly increased according to the increase in the ages of the respondents. Also, occupational status, ascribed class and self-evaluation of social achievement were influenced by family background variables more than by personal traits in age group of over 56. Therefore, this age group respondents were more influenced by the ascribed factors, comparing with the other age group. The influence of the family background about economic status was greater than that of personal traits in the group below 35, while the influence of personal traits was greater than that of the family background in the group over 35.

(3) Schoolings making the largest influence on social achievement and on all of its subvariables consisted of 6 subvariables. Schooling years, social reputation about schoolings, educational quality and level of student achievement among 6 subvariables were making the largest influence on social achievement. Their influencing order to occupational and economic status, and ascribed class consciousness was schooling years and social reputation about schools, the order to life satisfaction was by educational quality and schooling years, and also, the order to self-evaluation of social achievement was by schooling years

and level of student achievement.

(4) The influence order to social achievement was by intellectual ability and personal efforts among the subvariables of personal traits. However, the order to economic status was changed, that is, into the order of personal effort and intellectual ability. The influence of self-concept to life satisfaction was the largest among the subvariables of the personal traits.

(5) The subareas of social status were influenced by the order of SES of parents and of spouse's parents. The influence of SES of spouse's parents to economic status was more or less larger than that of SES of parents. Also, the influence order to ascribed class was by SES of parents and community size next.

C. Realities of Class Mobilities

(1) Intergenerational mobility of occupational status proved to be vivid in Korea. Especially, there were many cases that sons of skilled, unskilled manual workers moved upward to white collars beyond clerical occupations. While there were many small-spanned downward mobilities of professional and managerial workers to clerical or professional workers. Accordingly, these mobilities had the characteristic of the structural mobility rather than those of exchange mobility. In other words, as the number of required mental workers was increased by the change of the occupational structure due to the rapid social change after the period of 1960's, the social mobility in son's generation was regarded as possible rather than in father's generation.

(2) Intergenerational mobility of economic status also was very vivid in Korea. Especially, in case of lower, lower-middle, and middle class in father's status, most sons moved upward and the mobility span also was found out to be large. But in case of

upper-middle and upper class in father's status, son's status was sluggish or moved downward. Accordingly, intergenerational mobility of economic status also had the characteristics of the structural mobility rather than of exchange mobility. In this research, mobility rates of economic status adding occupation, income, and schooling years were larger than those of occupational status.

(3) This research in Korea could not find any special mobility between the first and current occupation, meaning intergenerational mobility of occupational status.

2. Conclusion

According to this research, those results as follows could be extracted.

(1) Schoolings were the most important determinants of social achievement of adults through all age groups in Korea. Family background or personal traits made an incidental or indirect influence on social achievement. Schooling years was the most important, the quality of schools the second, and social reputation of school the third among schoolings variables to social achievement. Schoolings also made a similar influence on even occupational status, economic status, ascribed class, life satisfaction and self-evaluation of social achievement which were the subvariables of social achievement. An intellectual ability and personal effort among subvariables of personal traits, and SES of parents and spouse's parents among the subvariables of family background made the larger influence on social achievement than the other subvariables.

(2) Family background made an indirect influence on social achievement through schoolings and personal traits, besides a direct influence on social achievement. Family background made

the larger influence on social achievement through schoolings than through personal traits, especially, SES of the family were an important factor.

The significant path of the indirect influence of the family background to social achievement could be showed as a causal relation of father's schooling years → son's schooling years → social achievement.

(3) In case of adults more than 50 years old, the influence of the ascriptive factors related to family background was the largest factors toward the opportunity of schoolings and social achievement, in comparing with the other age group, while the indirect influence of family background to social achievement was relatively small in age group of 30-40. These differences were judged as reflecting the social situations of the period that the respondents were attending the schools. That is, only adults with a good family background, in age group more than 50 years old, could afford to attend the schools at that time, while the respondents in age group of 30-40 could afford to attend the schools with comparative easiness due to the lessening of the influence of the family background in deciding the schooling years by the trend and policy of the quantitative expansion and generalization of educational opportunity.

(4) The independent influence of the school in itself to social achievement also was large. Schooling effects resulted from the differences of established type, socio-cultural environment of located region, tracks, and school atmosphere among schools. Concretely stated, schooling effects were deeply related to school's own characteristics such as teachers' quality (academic years, career, etc), school facilities, constructions and operations of curriculum, and school learning climate, etc.

(5) The present Korean society could be evaluated as an open society which was vivid in intergenerational mobility of social status.

A mobility of occupational status as well as of social status was vivid and its span was great. The mobility of socio-economic status was greater than that of occupational status, and upward mobilities were found out great in this research. The mobility of son's occupation to mental workers over clerical ones was vivid from skilled and unskilled manual in father's occupations. However, the range of the mobility was limited, and the recruitment of upper white collars was mainly being accomplished by lower white collars. Accordingly, the social mobility in Korea could be stated not circulatory mobility but a structural one. Since after the period of 1960's, the number of non-manual jobs was expanded due to the change of occupational structure. So, a vived upward mobility in son's generation was possible in comparison with the case of father's generation.

(6) Intergenerational mobility of SES and occupational status was less vivid than intergenerational status mobility, there was little change between the first and the current occupations in most cases.

(7) Development stage and industrialized degree of the society should be considered on the discussion for how school educations contributed to social achievement, because intergenerational mobility of social status and contributions of schoolings to the mobility would be limited for the decrease of the structural change, in coming into the stable period of the industrial society in Korea, although the roles of education toward social achievement and intergenerational mobility of social status were large accompanied, with the structural mobility of society, up to date. This phenomena could already be found in developed countries. So the roles of education to social achievement, considering the development state of the society, should be evaluated in further researches.

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